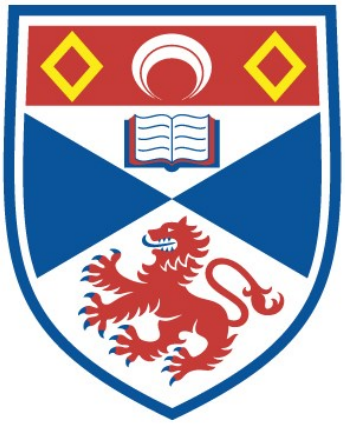
EVANGELISM, WORSHIP, AND THEOLOGY : A STUDY OF CERTAIN REVIVALS IN SCOTTISH PARISHES BETWEEN 1796 AND 1843, AND THEIR RELATION TO PUBLIC WORSHIP

Allan Bruce Henderson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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EVANGELISM, WORSHIP, AND THEOLOGY:

A STUDY OF CERTAIN REVIVALS IN SCOTTISH PARISHES

BETWEEN 1796 AND 1843,

AND THEIR RELATION TO PUBLIC WORSHIP

By

ALLAN BRUCE HENDERSON

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Divinity,
The University of St. Andrews,
in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

St. Andrews, Scotland
1977

STATEMENT AND DECLARATION

On 1st October, 1967, I was accepted as a Research Student in St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews, under Ordinance General NO. 12, and, during that academic year, I became a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by a resolution of the University Court 1967, NO. 1.

On 1st October, 1968, I determined that "Evangelism, Worship, and Theology: A Study of Certain Revivals in Scottish Parishes Between 1796 and 1843, and Their Relation to Public Worship" would be the topic of the thesis which is now being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based upon the results of original research, that it is my own composition, and that it has not been previously presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out at St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews.

'Allan Bruce Henderson

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Allan Bruce Henderson has completed nine terms of resident research at the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court 1967, NO. 1, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor James A. Whyte,
Practical Theology and
Christian Ethics

Professor James K. Cameron,
Ecclesiastical History

St. Mary's College
University of St. Andrews

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One of the most profound influences upon my life has been the late Dr. A. H. Leitch, former President and Professor of Theology of Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary. In 1966, while seeking to discern whether I should take a leave of absence from the pastorate to undertake a year of post-graduate study, I visited Addison and Margaret Leitch. They encouraged me to consider doctoral research, and they were the first to suggest St. Mary's College as a place to study. Their words became the Word which expanded the horizons for our family.

From August, 1967, until July, 1970, we became thoroughly at home in St. Andrews, Scotland. We shall always cherish that ancient university town and the many new friendships that enriched our lives.

The University of St. Andrews and, particularly, St. Mary's College provided a stimulating atmosphere for post-graduate research. I appreciated the experience of being among a distinguished faculty and talented fellow students who shared mutual respect for each other's scholarship and warm, personal friendships. Of particular assistance was the staff and facilities of the University Library. Mr. MacArthur, Miss Baird, and other members of the staff were most kind and diligent in all of their services.

To Professor James A. Whyte and Professor James K. Cameron, I am especially endebted. Each complemented the other in providing counsel I needed. Their critiques always contained challenge and encouragement. Their own personal standards of scholarship were resources of direction and inspiration. Their acceptance of this manuscript will be a source of personal fulfillment for me.

Regarding the form of the final text, it is acknowledged that the manual followed was:

> Albaugh, Ralph M. Thesis Writing, a Guide to Scholarly Style. Paterson, New Jersey (Littlefield, Adams and Co.), 1962.

The final text has been prepared while serving as Pastor of the Pine Ridge Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri. No pastor could have been ministered to in more supportive ways than the Pine Ridge Family has to me. I count it a privilege to be in ministry with them.

The typist of this thesis has been my secretary at Pine Ridge, Mrs. Betty Kennedy. Blessed with an understanding family, she has invested long hours in conscientious devotion to this task. Her faithfulness and the quality of her work have been invaluable to the completion of this manuscript.

Finally and foremost, I give thanks for my family. They have been "with me" in every sense of that phrase. This process has been a family venture of faith. My wife, Judith, has transformed every house and flat we inhabited into a home. Her love is divine. Our sons, Scott and Brent, have given their parents deep and abiding joy. I am also grateful to my parents and my wife's parents for their understanding and encouragement.

Through all of these lives, God graciously and abundantly has shown His providence to this servant. In thanking them, I am acknowledging my devotion to Him as Lord of my life.

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INTRODUCTION

In Scottish Presbyterianism the year, 1796, was a turning point from the age of Moderatism to the period of Evangelical ascendancy. That era led to another pivotal date in ecclesiastical history, 1843, which was the date of the Disruption. This thesis is a study of Practical Theology within that historic, transitional period between 1796 and 1843.

Within the discipline of Practical Theology, two of the more important movements in Scotland after 1843 were: (1) the renascence of worship; and (2) the work of evangelism, especially by the Committee on Christian Life and Work and by D. L. Moody and Ira Sankey. This present work began as a search into public worship and evangelism leading towards those two movements. The study evolved into a research of certain revivals in relation to public worship during the Evangelical ascendancy. Inseparable from this topic was some specific attention to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a special act of public worship and to the theology in and of revivals. The purpose of the investigation has been to view public worship as a means of evangelism and to discern similarities and differences in the processes of the revivals.

Chapters I and II are studies in public worship from 1796 to 1843 as the setting for the revivals and as an account of the prelude to the renascence of worship. Each of Chapters III through VII is an account of a certain revival movement in Scottish Presbyterianism within the period. Chapter VIII relates the material to various aspects of Practical Theology. The Appendices are included for their supplementary value to the documentation in the thesis. These

selections and the quotations used in the text and in the footnotes have been re-produced according to the grammar and spelling in which they were found. A further contribution intended by these verbatim sources is to convey the language, expressions, and thought forms used during the period studied.

This research was begun with no preconceived opinions about the historical period studied nor with any predetermined conclusions expected. Only a survey of Scottish Ecclesiastical History was known to the writer. The adventure has been to search and re-search primary and secondary sources and to allow the combination of them to form the total content. This work has been accomplished by a slow, maturing process. It is submitted with the conviction that the adventure has been completed and with the hope that it will be a useful contribution to the scholarship of Presbyterian history and to the Church's on-going adventure in Practical Theology.

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC WORSHIP IN SCOTTISH PARISHES, 1796 - 1843

During the century which became known as the "Age of Enlightenment," public worship in the Presbyterian churches in Scotland evidenced little, if any, increase in illumination. In the history of the Church at large, the eighteenth century was quite eventful. Within the history of preaching, the period contained some distinguishing features. But in the history of public worship, there was no substantial movement or change from the preceeding century. In the newly Established Church of Scotland, which emerged at the beginning of the eighteenth century from a polity struggle with episcopacy, there was suspicion of any change in liturgy that might be identified with prelacy. Very little attention was focused upon modes of public worship. Hence, as the Church contributed in some ways to the movement labeled "enlightenment,"[1] her public worship became known and referred to in notorious terms. Principal J. H. S. Burleigh summarized the state of public worship during the period which forms the context for this present study by stating: "The weakest

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[1]John Watson, The Scot of the Eighteenth Century, pp. 7-8. Writers such as Dr. John Watson credit the Church as being a contributing factor in the socio-economic-cultural advancement of the eighteenth century. In a lengthy paragraph which begins with the glowing generalisation, "It were difficult to find a more inspiring record of progress, than between the year 1700 and the year 1800 in Scotland," Dr. Watson concludes by stating that "a school of brilliant writers in Philosophy, History, Religion and the Drama had earned for Edinburgh the title of the Modern Athens, and the Scots Kirk might have claimed to be the most enlightened and broadest in Christendom. Superstition and ignorance were dying out, broad and liberal views were taking possession of the people."

element in Scottish Presbyterianism, it has been often said, is the bareness and even the crudeness of its public worship."[2]

Though the Moderates were the dominant party in the Kirk, except at the very beginning and the very end of the eighteenth century, neither party differed in principle with regard to public worship. Whether the minister was a Moderate or an Evangelical, the service of public worship was essentially a preaching service. Acts of devotion were more puritan than in the days of the Reformation. Simplicity was the watchword. Forms of worship must pass the test of Scriptural sanction. Even then, such set devotional acts as the Lord's Prayer were seldom used. Dr. George Henderson has concluded that, within both parties, "there was a pronounced distaste for forms and ceremonies . . . . For the Calvinist, ceremonies originated in the weakness of the times when Christ had not yet come. Now that we have Christ Himself all such aids may be abandoned."[3] Although many participants in the liturgical revival of the nineteenth century accused Moderates of the absence of devotional forms and aids, the ordering of public worship was outwardly very similar in Evangelical kirks as well. Differences occurred in atmosphere rather than in liturgy.

This was true concerning the central focus of worship -- the sermon. Generally, Moderates and Evangelicals were Calvinists. Differences between them were mainly a divergence in emphasis and style rather than in theology. In fact, "on the whole there was remarkably little theological activity."[4] The Moderates were more

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[2]J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 386.

[3]G. D. Henderson, The Burning Bush, p. 140.

[4]Ibid., p. 141.

interested in literary, intellectual, and cultural developments than in liturgy and theology. Hence, their pulpit presentations were carefully studied discourses upon manners and morals which Evangelicals often described as "cauld morality" or "tepid orthodoxy." Commenting in 1850 upon the rationale of Moderatism's emphasis during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Reverend James Bryce wrote: "During this period more attention was paid to the inculcating of works of charity, mercy, and temperance, than to the elucidation of the fountains from which, under the Gospel, they ought to flow. With these fountains it may have been assumed too unhesitatingly, that the people of Scotland were well acquainted; and hence the opinion might have grown up, that the practical rather than the doctrinal course of teaching was required."[5] Although critical of the conduct of public worship and of the attitude of worshippers, Principal John Tulloch admitted that "the higher clergy of the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century were not merely distinguished intellectually. They developed in their social life and public career many qualities of admirable manliness, directness, and vigour."[6] The preaching of Evangelicals was noted for its zeal and its dogmatism. Grounded in a selection of Scriptural proof-texts, the evangelical message called worshippers to a personal salvation. With sermons typically concluding by calling hearers to "close with Christ," little application was made to connect the spiritual state of the converted with the changes and challenges of eighteenth century society. William Blaikie has charged that evangelical preaching "was not well adapted to meet the new social

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[5]James Bryce, Ten Years of the Church of Scotland from 1833 to 1843, with Historical Retrospect from 1560, Vol. I, p. 242.

[6]The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881, p. 284.

features and forces which rapidly developed after the Union with England. For after that event the social manners, especially of the educated classes, underwent a material change in the way of refinement . . . . This was a state of things which the old style of preaching did not meet."[7]

A preaching service accompanied by certain acts of devotion which evolved from tradition rather than studied direction and pastoral preparation -- this was the general context of public worship in the closing years of the eighteenth century within Moderate and Evangelical Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. From that setting, a movement toward the renewal of public worship took place during the nineteenth century. This movement gained such momentum that the renaissance of public worship became a dominant theme of ecclesiastical history in Presbyterianism during the second half of the nineteenth century in Scotland. Therefore, the period from 1796 to 1843 was a time of gradual stirrings toward that regeneration of interest in public worship. This chapter examines various aspects of worship during that period. In doing so, it also provides the setting within which certain revivals occurred in particular parishes during that same historical period.

NEW AIDS TO PUBLIC WORSHIP

On 3rd February, 1645, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland adopted the Directory for Public Worship that had been composed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. This Act of the General Assembly plainly directed all ministers and churches strictly to follow

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[7]William G. Blaikie, The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century, p. 220.

its precepts.[8] However, in practice, this Act was never explicitly carried out during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During that period of over 150 years, one official attempt was made by the General Assembly on 10th April, 1705, to execute the original Act.[9] The "Recommendation concerning the Observation of the Directory for Worship" was not conscientiously heeded by the churches of the Establishment. Interestingly, it was by means of tradition rather than by obedience that the typical order of worship followed by Scottish kirks at the end of the eighteenth century was similar to that prescribed by the Westminster Directory. Commenting upon the vague influence of the Directory upon the order and early nineteenth century aids to worship, Dr. John Lamb has written: "The relation to the Westminster Directory is not easy to assess. That the Directory was very widely ignored was a common complaint, and a few here and there urged a fuller obedience to its provisions. Of positive influence on the aids to worship of our period, there is not much direct evidence. The service books generally adhere to the order of service which was then customary, and that itself is in outline more or less the order of the Directory."[10] A comparison of the order of worship

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[8] Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, p. 116. "The General Assembly . . . do unanimously, and without a contrary voice, Agree to and Approve the following Directory . . . and doth require, decerne, and ordain, that, according to the plain tenour and meaning thereof, and the intent of the preface, it be carefully and uniformly observed and practised by all the ministers and others within this kingdome whom it doth concerne."

[9] Ibid., p. 387. "The General Assembly thereby seriously recommends to all ministers and others with this National Church, the due observation of the Directory for the Public Worship of God, approven by the General Assembly held in the year 1645, Sess. 10."

[10] Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XIII, "Aids to Public Worship in Scotland 1800-1850" by John A. Lamb, p. 184.

advocated by the Directory with an example of the typical liturgical sequence at an early nineteenth century service emphasises the similarity.

Westminster Directory, 1645[11]	Early 19th Century[12]
Prayer	Psalm
Scripture from both Testaments	Prayer
Psalm	Lecture covering a Scripture Passage
Prayer	Psalm
Sermon	Prayer
Prayer	Sermon
Lord's Prayer	Prayer
Psalm	Psalm or Paraphrase
Benediction	Benediction

The order of service used at the end of the eighteenth century had been evolved during a century in which the church felt no direction in such matters. "The Directory never found its way to the heart of the Scottish people as the Westminster Catechism and Confession did."[13] In fact, only twenty-one years after the adoption of the Directory, Gilbert Burnet is quoted as observing that "this Church is the only one in the world, which hath no rule for worship."[14] Following the General Assembly recommendation of 1705, the eighteenth century proceeded with no further official attempts to return to the Directory or to produce any contemporary aids to public worship. By the beginning of the nineteenth century this lack of direction began to motivate

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[11] Sprott and Leishman (ed.), The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland and the Directory for the Public Worship of God, p. 263.

[12] R. H. Story (ed.), The Church of Scotland, Past and Present, Vol. V, "The Ritual of the Church" by Thomas Leishman, p. 421.

[13] Ibid., p. 388.

[14] G. D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland, p. 151. (quotation is from A Memorial of Diverse Grievances [1666], found in Misc. of S. H. S. II [1904], p. 354.)

certain individuals to take steps to fill that void. Dr. Harry Robertson expressed the feelings of a number of clergymen when he wrote these words in 1802:

> "It has often been complained of as a considerable disadvantage, that there are no Forms prescribed by the Church of Scotland for celebrating Marriage, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Every Clergyman is left to exercise his own talents upon such occasions, with no other assistance than a few general instructions laid down in the Directory annexed to the Confession of Faith. As no attempt has hitherto been made by any Minister of the Church of Scotland to remedy this obvious inconvenience, the Author flatters himself that the following work, with all its imperfections, will be favourably received by his younger Brethren, for whose use it is chiefly intended."[15]

It was logical that the early attempts to compose aids-to-public worship should concentrate upon the sacraments because in the eighteenth century the main efforts toward the improvement of worship centered upon the subject of Holy Communion. Of particular concern to the church was the infrequency of Holy Communion being celebrated throughout the parishes and the number of services that occurred during a "Holy Fair." These services were conducted by a number of guest ministers who left their own charges with a replacement for that week-end. The General Assembly first manifested an interest in these matters in 1701 when it passed an act which recommended "to Presbyteries to take care that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be more frequently administered within their bounds, and that the number of ministers to serve thereat be restricted, so that neighbouring churches be not thereby cast desolate on the Lord's Day."[16] In 1711 the General Assembly passed another recommendation to the effect that Presbyteries

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[15]Harry Robertson, The Scotch Minister's Assistant, pp. iii-iv.

[16]Acts of the General Assembly, op. cit., p. 311.

should do what they could to have the Lord's Supper administered within their boundaries periodically throughout the year.[17] Evidence of the churches' failure to heed these recommendations comes from the fact that further acts on this subject were passed by the General Assembly during the succeeding years.[18]

Finally, in 1749 one leader of the Evangelical party wrote an essay entitled An Attempt to Promote the Frequent Dispensing of the Lord's Supper. John Erskine's essay was published to support an overture which was being presented to the General Assembly by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. Erskine's biographer, Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, suggested that the young minister of Kirkintilloch[19] was one of the originators of the overture which advocated the celebration of the Lord's Supper "at least four times a year, in every parish; and that only one day in the preceeding week, either the Friday or Saturday, were employed in public fasting or preparation and that the sacrament were administered on the same Sabbath in all the parishes of the same presbytery at least."[20] Rev. Erskine discussed the subject of frequent communion from the standpoints of the Biblical witness, the practice of the New Testament Church, the decisions of Church Councils, the opinions of the early Church Fathers, and the convictions of the

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[17] Ibid., p. 451.

[18] Ibid., pp. 471-472, 568, 589. Act appointing the more frequent Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Act 11, 13th May, 1712; Renewal of the Act of 1711, Act 6, Session 6, 20th May, 1724; Act concerning the admitting of Persons to the Lord's Table and enjoining the strict observance of the twelve articles of the Act of 1645, Act 8, Session 18, 18th May, 1727.

[19] When the overture was composed in the Fall of 1748, Erskine was 27 years old and had been an ordained minister for only four years.

[20] John Erskine, An Attempt to Promote the Frequent Dispensing of the Lord's Supper, p. 4.

Reformers and Reformed Churches. Erskine also offered his rebuttals to the principal objections voiced against the overture. The essay concluded by defending the overture's means of attaining its goal as being the most proper and the least exceptionable.

This subject had been considered by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1720.[21] Without overturing for a change in other districts of the church, this presbytery abridged the number of sermons during the Communion celebration and scheduled the Lord's Supper to be dispensed in one or more of the congregations of Edinburgh Presbytery each month of the year. Even though the subject was not new to the Church of Scotland nor the proposal without precedent, the General Assembly took no action on the overture from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in either 1749 or 1750. Brought before the General Assembly for the third time, the overture was enacted on 20th May, 1751.[22] Erskine re-published his essay in his Theological Dissertations of 1765, and the essay appeared again in print in 1783.

Further support for this improvement in the administering of Holy Communion came from the pens of two other influential ministers. Pastor at Inchture in 1739 and at Stirling in 1770, the Reverend Thomas Randall published an article on the subject of more frequent communion services and the inconveniences of current practices.[23] Being a competent scholar and a man of conviction, Randall affectively supported the objectives of the Overture of 1749. Wellwood, writing in 1818, accredits: "The argument in Dr. Erskine's and Mr. Randall's

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[21]Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D., pp. 147-148.

[22]Acts of the General Assembly, op. cit., p. 705.

[23]Wellwood, op. cit., p. 150.

essays went a great way to lessen the evil of which they complained. The Lord's Supper has, from that time, been more frequently and more uniformly dispensed, and in no small proportion of the parishes the number of sermons connected with it has been at least considerably abridged."[24] The other spokesman worthy of mention is John Mason whose Letters on Frequent Communion was published in 1798. Mason reminded his readers of the authority of the Westminster Directory which called for frequent celebrations of Communion and which did not prescribe public fasts and thanksgivings.

As the attention of churchmen was drawn towards public worship, and, in particular, towards the Sacraments, the need for direction and aids for various occasions of worship was accentuated. The first attempt to meet this need was an anonymous publication from Inverness in 1802 entitled The Scotch Minister's Assistant. Sometime later it was revealed that the book had been written by Dr. Harry Robertson, pastor at Kiltearn from 1776 to 1815. Robertson's book met such a prevalent need that it was kept in circulation for twenty years. In 1822 it was re-printed practically verbatim under the abridged title, The Presbyterian Minister's Assistant. The complete title of the original edition was The Scotch Minister's Assistant, or a Collection of Forms, for Celebrating the Ordinances of Marriage, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, according to the Usage of the Church of Scotland, with Suitable Devotions for Church and Family Worship. The emphasis upon the Sacraments is evident from the fact that seventy-five per cent of the content is given to the forms, discourses, and prayers of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Sixty per cent of the book contains material for the preparation and celebration of Holy Communion. The

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[24] Ibid., pp. 152-153.

balance of the volume contains three forms for the marriage service, a prayer at the ordination of a minister, three sets of morning and evening prayers for family devotions, one set of morning and evening prayers for family worship on the Lord's Day, one prayer for use when visiting the sick, and one prayer appropriate "when death visits a family."

This early aid to public worship is primarily a book of prayers rather than a book of order. With the exception of the services of marriage and baptism, the orders of public worship for various occasions are not provided. No mention is made of the lecture, the sermon, the reading of Scripture, the Benediction, or the use of music in worship. In addition to the particular prayers set forth, Robertson recorded a number of discourses and addresses suitable for baptism, the fencing of Communion tables, the Table Services, and the conclusion of the action of the Lord's Supper. Both prayers and discourses are of similar length. Considering the length of early nineteenth century worship services, especially those of Holy Communion, and compared with later published aids, Robertson's recorded prayers and discourses are brief. The longest prayer in the collection is one which is to be offered before the sermon is delivered. It consists of approximately 1665 words. The most prolonged discourse is one for use at a Communion Table Service which is nearly 1480. The underlying theme of prayers and discourses is two-fold: the total sinfulness of mankind and the judicial theory of the Atonement. These sentences from one Table Service discourse are exemplary of the content of this 1802 aid-to-public worship:

> "He [Jesus] not only offered himself a sacrifice of a sweet smelling favour unto God, his heavenly Father; but he rejoices that a body was given him to make him capable of

> suffering in thy stead, O penitent sinner. He gave this very body to be broken, torn and wounded on thy account: Behold now by faith his broken body, and his blood shed for the remission of your sins . . . Behold now, in the death of your Redeemer, the goodness and the severity of God, displayed at once in the clearest point of view:--His goodness and mercy in sparing the guilty, and providing a sacrifice in their room and stead: Behold, on the other hand, the inflexible justice of God, and the infinite evil of sin, for which no less a sacrifice would be accepted than the shedding of Emanuel's blood."[25]

Although William Liston commented in 1843 that The Scotch Minister's Assistant "is not extensively known in the Church,"[26] its author must be credited with discerning a prevailing need and with being the inaugurator of the nineteenth century development of aids-to-public worship as a means of giving direction and uniformity to the religious services in the Church of Scotland.

A second aid to public worship during this period originated from the parish of St. Andrew's in the city of Saint John, New Brunswick. The author was George Burns (1790-1876), a minister of the Church of Scotland. Following his ordination by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1816, Burns accepted a call to the St. Andrew's Church. From his experience as a pastor in a British Province and pursuing his interest in the modes of liturgy, he became aware of the need for a manual of devotion which could be used by laymen who had to conduct public worship and Sunday School services. Therefore, in 1829, Burns published an original work "to supply a desideratum which has been long and greatly felt."[27] It was entitled, Prayers Adapted for Public Worship, the Domestic Altar, Sunday Schools, and the Chamber of Sickness

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[25]Robertson, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

[26]William Liston, The Service of the House of God, According to the Practice of the Church of Scotland, p. ix.

[27]George Burns, Prayers Adapted for Public Worship, p. iii.

and Death. This manual of prayers was divided into six sections: I. Public Prayers; II. Family Prayers; III. Sunday School Prayers; IV. Prayers Suitable for the Chamber of Sickness and Death; V. Prayers for the Use of Young Persons; and VI. Grace before and after Meals.

In composing this volume as an aid to public worship, Burns did not intend to advocate the regular reading of prayers by licensed preachers and ordained clergymen. He affirmed in the Advertisement that "the genius of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of Scotland is quite hostile to such a practice."[28] Nevertheless, the author implied that he would not personally object to the infrequent use of prepared aids, even by the clergy. He suggested that "there is nothing in the Directory for National Worship which condemns the occasional use of set forms to a certain extent, even by the accredited functionaries of the Church, in the devotional exercises of the sanctuary."[29] Furthermore, concluded Dr. Burns, there could be no objection to employing prepared prayers from memory in the same way that the Lord's Prayer is uttered from memoriter. This analogy seemed to assume that the Lord's Prayer was beginning to be used in public worship services at this time. In the section of public prayers, Burns used the Lord's Prayer at the end of two of the "prayers at the conclusion of Public Worship." No instructions were given to indicate whether the congregation was to join in unison with the leader for this devotion. However, the words immediately preceeding the Lord's Prayer implied that the people were to pray aloud: "Listen to the voice of our supplications which we now cause to ascend in the name and words of

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[28] Ibid., p. iv.

[29] Ibid.

Him 'whom thou hearest always.' 'Our Father who art in heaven; Hallowed . . .'"[30] From this it appears that a gradual return to the use of the Lord's Prayer was beginning in some areas of the Church.

Regular services of worship at the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century still contained but two prayers in their order. Burns provided six pairs of public prayers in his manual of devotion. The modern reader of these devotional compositions may be slightly overwhelmed by the length of these prayers. Each of the six prayers "at the commencement of public worship" was much longer than the longest prayer in The Scotch Minister's Assistant. The average opening prayer by Burns was over 1800 words. This was also true of the concluding prayers incorporated by Burns which average approximately 1000 words. The content of these devotions was arranged into a predictible pattern. The function of the first prayer in public worship was to direct the mind of the worshipper to his relationship with God. The order of all six prayers for the commencement of public worship was as follows: recognition of the majesty of God, thanksgiving for what God has done for man, supplication and thanksgiving for the Sabbath and the experience of worship. The prayers for the conclusion of worship were primarily directed to the needs of the world for God's blessing. They conformed to this pattern: blessing upon the sermon and the service of worship, general intercession, blessing of God's abiding presence upon the worshippers. The intercessory sections which occasionally appeared in the first prayers were very inclusive in their content. Using a phrase from one of the intercessory petitions, Burns' devotions brought before the throne of grace the whole gamut of citizens "from him who administers its government

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[30] Ibid., p. 42.

down to the meanest of its inhabitants."[31] There were also frequent petitions which revealed an ecumenical spirit to those of the Reformed faith and a missionary zeal for those in the world who were outside the Christian faith. Examples of this outward vision are present in the succeeding quotations: "Extend the triumphs of the Reformation at home and abroad . . . Bless the Ministers of the Gospel of the National churches and of every denomination." "May Pagan darkness, Jewish infidelity, Mohometan delusion, and Popish superstition, vanish before 'the light of the knowledge of thy glory as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ.'"[32] The scholastic Calvinism of the day with its emphasis upon the total depravity of man, the atoning act of Jesus Christ, and the authority of Scripture dominated the content of this aid to worship. The majesty of God was contrasted with "our aversion to what is good and proneness to evil continually."[33] The prayers following the sermon characteristically offered thanksgiving for the proclamation of the Gospel and made supplication for increased knowledge of the Scriptures.

Perpetuating his heritage, the Scottish missionary dominated his manual of devotion with the language of Scripture. Burns had a strong conviction that the Bible offered the best help to the composition of prayers. In fact, he proposed that Scriptural phraseology was necessary for prayer to be effective. In the conclusion of his devotional volume he declared: "How cold and dead does a Prayer appear that is composed in the most elegant style of language when not heightened by

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[31] Ibid., p. 33.

[32] Ibid., pp. 45-46, 48-49.

[33] Ibid., p. 51.

that solemnity of phrase with which holy writ abounds!"[34] Therefore, the prayers of George Burns were inter-woven with direct phrases and verses from Scripture, each one set out by quotation marks. There were as many as forty-seven scriptural references in a single prayer. In another prayer, one-fourth of the number of words composing it were those taken directly from Scripture. It was already common for Scottish ministers to use the Bible as a source book for prayer. However, George Burns became noted in Scotland for being especially proficient in this area of ministry. It was this characteristic for which George Burns was remembered. When he died in 1876, The Scotsman included this statement in its notice of his passing: "Some remain who have a distinct remembrance of his faithful, practical, and often eloquent enforcement of divine truth, and of his devotional exercises which, both in public and in private, were remarkable for their comprehensiveness and Scriptural beauty."[35]

Like its predecessor at the beginning of the century, Burns' aid to public worship played a pioneer role in the nineteenth century's birth and development of written aids and published liturgies in the Reformed Churches in Scotland.

TRANSITION PERIOD FOR MUSIC IN PUBLIC WORSHIP

Public worship services in the early years of the nineteenth century began with the singing of a psalm. The method of singing still followed the general pattern of lining out which had been the practice of congregations since the seventeenth century. Since 1746, when the General Assembly recommended that singing in family worship

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[34] Ibid., p. 192.

[35] The Scotsman, February 8, 1876, p. 4.

should proceed without the intermission of reading each line,[36] there had been attempts to abolish lining out in public worship. However, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the practice still persisted into the early years of the nineteenth century. In his book, Old Church Life in Scotland, Andrew Edgar referred to the records of the Mauchline Church which state specifically that lining continued there until 1809.[37] Writing in 1819, John Lockhart recorded an eyewitness description of singing at a public worship service in a country kirk several miles from Glasgow in which the psalm was read by the minister and then lined out by the precentor.[38]

The posture for singing continued to be that of sitting. Robert Lee traced this custom to the seventeenth century. "The present [1864] customs of standing at prayer and sitting to sing were innovations, introduced about the middle of the seventeenth century, in imitation of the forms, or in compliance with the feelings of the

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[36]Acts of the General Assembly, op. cit., p. 687.

[37]Andrew Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, p. 70.

[38]John G. Lockhart, Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk, pp. 315-317. "When we entered, the old men were all sitting in the church with their bonnets on, and they did not uncover themselves until the minister began to read aloud the psalm -- which was then sung, in a style of earnestness that was at least abundantly impressive, by them all -- not one voice in the whole congregation, I firmly believe, being silent . . . After the psalm has been read by the clergyman, (which is often extremely well done) no solemn instrumental symphony opens the concert with that sure and exact harmony which proceeds from an organ, but a solitary clerk, (they call him precentor,) who is commonly a grotesque enough figure, utters the first notes of the tune in a way that is extremely mechanical and disagreeable. The rest of the congregation having heard one line sung to an end, and having ascertained the pitch, then strike in. Most of them sing the air in unison with the precentor, without attempting to take any other part, or to form concords. This is certainly the safest way for them, but even among those who sing along with the clerk, there are generally so many with bad ears, that the effect on the whole is dissonant. To introduce organs into the Scottish churches, has been proposed at different times by some of the clergymen, but the majority both of clergy and laity have always disapproved of that innovation."

English Puritans, whose zeal affected as many departures as possible from the customs of the Episcopal Church."[39] Leishman concluded that prior to the nineteenth century "it is doubtful if at any time standing at singing was prevalent in Scotland."[40] Related to posture was the wearing of hats during public worship. During the eighteenth century the custom of only removing hats for prayer began to slowly disappear. Lockhart noted that the men removed "their bonnets" when the minister began to read the opening psalm. Before long the men removed their hats as they entered the kirk and kept them off until they were leaving the building.

As the method of singing was very slowly changing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so was the content of the Scottish Psalter. Provision for an additional selection of praises appropriate for worship was started in 1741 when the General Assembly appointed a committee for such a purpose. Although in 1745 the General Assembly received a collection of forty-five versions of Scripture and transmitted them to presbyteries for study, these new paraphrases of Scripture were not employed in worship. In 1751 a revised edition was issued by the General Assembly particularly for family worship. Finally, urged by overtures from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the General Assembly of 1775 appointed another committee to examine and revise the collection of paraphrases for the purpose of introducing them into the Psalter of the Church. In 1781 the committee presented the Assembly with the revised collection of paraphrases which also included a number of new works. The Assembly ordered copies to be supplied to presbyteries for their scrutiny and, at the same time,

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[39]Robert Lee, The Reform of the Church of Scotland, pp. 90-91.

[40]Story (ed.), op. cit., p. 424.

passed an interim Act[41] allowing the collection to be used in public worship at the discretion of the pastor. The Printer of the Church of Scotland was given the exclusive privilege of printing and publishing the paraphrases for five years. Subsequent Acts of the General Assembly[42] in 1786 and in 1795 extended the privilege for nine and fourteen years respectively. "The Committee, reappointed in 1781, never again reported. The edition which they issued that year is the same as we now use. And the Act of 1781 was the Assembly's last piece of legislation on the subject-matter of The Paraphrases."[43] Thus, the use of paraphrases in worship did not receive official sanction. Neither did they come into use by immediate popularity. "The reception of the Paraphrases was mixed. In some quarters the fact that the Moderate party in the Church were influentially represented on the Committee caused the prejudiced and unjust suggestion that they were deficient in the evangelical note. In others the prejudice against anything but the psalms being sung proved invincible . . . The dislike of them was sometimes so strong that they were torn out of the Bible, or the leaves on which they were printed were immovably gummed together."[44] Parish churches were very slow to begin singing these Scriptural songs. Many congregations had yet to line out its first paraphrase when the nineteenth century commenced.

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[41]An Abridgment of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, from the year 1638 to 1810 inclusive, Alphabetically Arranged, p. 308.

[42]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 18th Day of May, 1786, Abridgment, p. 35. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 21st Day of May, 1795, Abridgment, p. 40.

[43]Thomas Young, The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases, p. 150.

[44]Miller Patrick, The Story of the Church's Song, pp. 117-118.

"It was not without contention and controversy, strife and bitterness, that the Paraphrases made their way into use in our public services. People still living [in 1885] remember the hostility with which the use of the Paraphrases was regarded."[45] Dr. Edgar specifically noted that the Paraphrases were not introduced to the worship experience of the Mauchline Church until 9th February, 1806.[46]

In addition to psalms and paraphrases, a third form of praise was coming into use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was the revival of hymns for public worship. Edgar has commented that from the Reformation to the time of the Westminster Assembly hymns and doxologies, as well as metrical versions of the Psalms, were generally sung in public worship.[47] From the 1634 edition of the Old Scottish Psalter, Thomas Young lists a total of fourteen "Scriptural and Spiritual Songs."[48] However, the 1650 edition of Rous' Psalms did not include any appended hymns or paraphrases. This does not mean that the church opposed these forms. In fact, the General Assembly of 1647 which first authorised the revision of Rous' Psalms also recommended that the distinguished religious poet of the day, Zachary Boyd,"be at the paines to translate the other Scriptural Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of

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[45]Edgar, op. cit., p. 82.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., p. 77.

[48]Young, op. cit., pp. 135-136. (1) The Ten Commandments; (2) A Prayer; (3) The Lord's Prayer; (4) Veni Creator; (5) The Song of Simeon; (6) The XII Articles of Christian Belief; (7) The Humble Suit of a Sinner; (8) The Lamentation of a Sinner; (9) The Complaint of a Sinner; (10) The Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary; (11) The Lamentation; (12) The Song of Moses; (13) A Thanksgiving after receiving the Lord's Supper; (14) A Spiritual Song.

Assembly."[49] The only evidence that implies that Mr. Boyd reported "his travels" to the Commission is the instruction given by the 1648 Assembly for "Master John Adamson and Mr. Thomas Crawford to revise the Labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripturall Songs."[50] There is no indication that these instructions were carried out, and the project seems to have been abandoned.

Hymns did not reappear until 1781 when five hymns were attached to the trial edition of psalms and paraphrases in the Church of Scotland.[51] Nevertheless, the Relief Church must be accredited with making the first effective effort to re-introduce hymn-singing in public worship in the Presbyterian churches in Scotland. At the Relief Synod of 1794 the thirty-three year old secession church adopted a hymn book compiled by the Reverend Mr. Stewart containing 231 selections of psalms, paraphrases, and hymns. Among these selections were thirty-one paraphrases and two hymns from the Church of Scotland edition of 1781. Testimony of the wide and positive value of the Relief Hymnbook was given by Dr. Gavin Struthers who commented that the general adoption of it "was followed by a

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[49]Alexander Peterkin, Records of the Kirk of Scotland Containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies, from the Year 1638 Downwards, p. 475.

[50]Ibid., p. 513.

[51]Charles G. M'Crie, The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland, pp. 287-288. (1) "One of Addison's, taken from 'The Spectator' for 9th August, 1712, one verse being slightly altered and verbal changes being introduced here and there." (2) "Also from the pen of the English essayist, occurs in a 'Spectator' article, dated 23rd August, 1712, entitled 'The Confirmation of Faith.'" (3) "Also Addisonian, being introduced in the 'Spectator' for 18th October, 1712 as the composition of a clergyman on his deathbed." (4) By Isaac Watts, originally entitled, "The Lord's Day; or, The Resurrection of Christ." "Not only were there verbal changes made upon this piece, . . . but a sixth verse was added to the five of which the hymn originally consisted." (5) "Generally attributed to the Reverend John Logan of Leith."

corresponding improvement in church music; and the worship of 'praise' became varied, animating, and peculiarly adapted to the doctrines of the Gospel."[52]

The foundations for an enlarged psalmody and hymnody were laid within the Church of Scotland early in the nineteenth century. In 1811, and again in 1814, new poetic versions of the Psalms were submitted to presbyteries.[53] Then in 1821, the General Assembly printed for the circulation and inspection of presbyteries an additional collection of translations and paraphrases which had been submitted to the General Assembly in 1820.[54] This contained thirty-two psalms in different metres, seventeen metrical versions of Scripture passages, and two doxologies. Inspite of this step toward a revised and enlarged hymnody, it was to be thirty-three years before further constructive action would be taken in this matter.

The United Secession Church did not make any movement towards the use of hymns in public worship during the first forty-two years of the nineteenth century.

A foreshadowing of a future change in the music of public worship occured in 1807. On Sunday, 23rd August, 1807, in St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, the Precentor lined out the psalms to the accompaniment of an organ. Although the subject had been discussed occasionally

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[52]Gavin Struthers, History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church, p. 376.

[53]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 16th Day of May, 1811, Abridgment, p. 53. The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 19th Day of May, 1814, Abridgment, pp. 46-47.

[54]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 17th Day of May, 1821, Abridgment, p. 39.

among individuals and a few years prior a project was initiated, but never completed, to introduce an organ in a church at Aberdeen, this was the first use of instrumental music in a Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Thus, the first test case over instrumental music in public worship came before the Presbytery of Glasgow.

On 21st August, 1806, a petition from "a great number of Gentlemen who possess Seats in St. Andrew's Church" and a letter from their pastor, Dr. William Ritchie, were sent to the Lord Provost of Glasgow requesting permission to make alterations in the seats behind the pulpit to make room for the installation of an organ.[55] Based upon the legal opinion of Mr. James Reddie, one of their Legal Assessors, the Town Council of Glasgow refused to grant this request until the congregation received permission from the Presbytery to introduce an organ in the sanctuary.[56] The project was discontinued until June, 1807, when Dr. Ritchie and a few heads of families began to meet one evening each week "for the purpose of improving themselves in Sacred Music."[57] Soon it was proposed that a Chamber Organ be installed to help the Precentor direct the singing at the weekly meetings. Hence, an organ was placed in the church without altering any of the seats -- and without seeking and receiving sanction from the Town Council or the Presbytery of Glasgow. The instrument was employed regularly at the weekly singing sessions and at the Family Worship which concluded these evenings. "The people present were highly gratified," Dr. Ritchie testified, "and became loud and urgent in their requests for

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[55] Statement of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Glasgow, Relative to the Use of an Organ in St. Andrew's Church, in the Public Worship of God, on the 23rd August, 1807, pp. 3-7.

[56] Ibid., p. 8.

[57] Ibid., p. 88.

the use of that Instrument in Public Worship."[58] It was resolved to use the organ in a Sunday morning service of public worship. However, the Lord Provost happened to learn of this decision on Friday, 21st August, 1807. The next day he sent a letter to Dr. Ritchie intimating that if this resolution would be carried out, "I shall consider it my duty to enter a solemn protest against you for all damages which may be the consequence."[59] Dr. Ritchie's reply, also dated 22nd August, 1807, avowed that he would "embrace the first possible opportunity of laying the Lord Provost's letter before the committee of that congregation to whom the business of the Organ has been committed, that they may know at what risk such an attempt as that which they have in view must be made."[60] The next day, Sunday, 23rd August, 1807, "the Precentor, as usual, was in his place. The Organ joined him, and so did the Congregation."[61] Thus, according to Dr. Ritchie, a thirty year old dream of the people of St. Andrew's had come true.

On the following Wednesday, the Lord Provost, James Mackenzie, submitted to the Presbytery of Glasgow a formal report concerning the installation of the organ in St. Andrew's Church and the use of it in a public worship service. Official correspondence between the Lord Provost and Dr. Ritchie was enclosed with the report. Also on 26th August, Provost Mackenzie sent a letter to Dr. Ritchie informing him of the report to the Presbytery and intimating that "the Magistrates hold you and the other members of the kirk-session, and congregation of St. Andrew's church, as responsible for the consequences of any

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[58] Ibid., p. 89.

[59] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[60] Ibid., p. 15.

[61] Ibid., p. 86.

breach of the peace which may possibly be occasioned by the innovation you have attempted to introduce."[62] Three days later a deputation from the St. Andrew's congregation visited the Lord Provost and verbally vowed that the organ would not be used again if his Lordship would withdraw his protest to the Presbytery. In his letter of 2nd September, Provost Mackenzie informed the Presbytery of the St. Andrew's delegation's conditional promise and reported that the city Magistrates and Council unanimously agreed that the entire matter should be left to the discretion of the Reverend Presbytery. The minutes of the pro re nata meeting of the Presbytery of Glasgow for 2nd September acknowledged the communication from the Lord Provost and agreed to seriously consider the matter. At that same meeting Dr. Ritchie solemnly promised that the organ would not be used again without the authority of the Church. He also requested that further procedure in the case be delayed until the next regular meeting of the Presbytery. The request was unanimously granted.

Therefore, on 7th October, 1807, the case of the introduction of the organ into St. Andrew's Church was officially considered by the Presbytery of Glasgow. In Dr. Ritchie's comments he reaffirmed his vow "that he would not again use an Organ in the public worship of God without the authority of the Church."[63] After a lengthy discussion, two motions were made which were designed to render a verdict and close the case. The first motion declared "that the use of Organs in the public worship of God is contrary to the Law of the Land, and to the Law and Constitution of our Established Church, and therefore the Presbytery did, and hereby do, prohibit the use of

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[62] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[63] Ibid., p. 19.

Organs in all the Churches and Chapels within their bounds: And with respect to Dr. Ritchie's conduct in this matter, they are satisfied with his declaration."[64] The second motion stated "that in consequence of Dr. Ritchie's judicial declaration, the Presbytery should find it unnecessary to proceed further in this business, declaring, at the same time, their judgment, that the introduction of an Organ into public worship is inexpedient, and unauthorized in our Church."[65] Although the passage of the first motion ended the case as far as judicial process was concerned, the issue itself was not closed to further debate. When the roll of the Presbytery was called to vote for either the first or the second motion, Dr. Ritchie declined to vote. But even more important was the fact that five members of Presbytery dissented with the promise to lodge their reasons for such action. This was fulfilled on 13th October, 1807, in a paper signed by Principal William Taylor, Jr., Dr. Alexander Ranken, Mr. David Davidson, and Mr. Stevenson MacGill. Their contention was that the Presbytery should have received the declaration of Dr. Ritchie and pronounced that the introduction of the organ was inexpedient and unauthorized. Their principal objection was that Presbytery had expressed a judgment concerning the Law of the Land and the Constitution of the Church which went beyond any previous pronouncement of the National Kirk. They advocated that "the question concerning the lawfulness, utility, or expediency of Instrumental Music in public worship, is open for the Church of Scotland to consider and determine."[66]

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[64] Ibid., p. 20.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 23.

The committee appointed to answer the reasons of dissent reported on 2nd December, 1807. The underlying opinion with which the members of the committee approached their task was revealed in the introduction of their report:

> "It was certainly known, that Organs have never been used in the Presbyterian church of Scotland,--and that no minister of that church had ever presumed, before this, to introduce them.--It was certainly known that the people of Scotland are not given to change--especially in matters connected with religion. And it might have been known, that Glasgow is not the place, and the present is not the time, for a business of this sort."[67]

The climax of the committee's rebuttal was a lengthy reference to the General Assembly Act against Innovations in the Worship of God of 1707[68] and the 1711 enactment obligating every minister at his ordination to publicly promise to assert, maintain and defend "the purity of Worship as presently practised in this National Church, and asserted in the fifteenth Act of the General Assembly one thousand seven hundred and seven, entitled, Act against Innovations in the Worship of God."[69] Therefore, the report was concluded with this judgment: "no Ecclesiastical Court in Scotland has power to alter the forms of our Worship, or to deprive succeeding generations of that purity and uniformity of Religious Worship, which has been the glory of our Land for more than a Century."[70] This was far from being the last word on the subject. On 6th January, 1808, papers from Principal

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[67] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[68] The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 8th of April, 1707, p. 45.

[69] The Principal Acts of The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Convened at Edinburgh, the 10th Day of May, 1711, p. 19.

[70] Statement of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Glasgow, op. cit., p. 52.

Taylor, Dr. John Lockhart, and Dr. Ritchie were read to and recorded by the Presbytery of Glasgow. These statements sought to defend and to vindicate the minister and congregation of St. Andrew's for their introduction of the organ in public worship. Dr. Ritchie's deliverance being the document of primary concern, the Presbytery appointed a committee to prepare an answer to his paper. The members of the committee were: Dr. William Porteous, Convener, Dr. Robert Balfour, the Reverend James Lapslie, and Mr. James MacLean. These were the same four who had formed the 2nd December report in answer to those who had presented their reasons for dissent from the action of 7th October, 1807, against the introduction of the organ in public worship. Their extremely lengthy paper was read to the Presbytery on 30th March, 1808. It consisted of five main arguments:

(1) The use of instrumental music has no foundation in Scripture.

(2) The early Church Fathers, the Schoolmen, and the Reformers condemned such a practice.

(3) Dr. Ritchie's reasoning as to why the Church of Scotland had not used instrumental music is not consistent with historical fact.

(4) The judgment of the Presbytery of Glasgow was validly based upon the Act of Security, the treaty of Union, the Directory for Worship, and the Act against Innovations.

(5) The argument that the action of the St. Andrew's congregation was based upon Presbyterian principles is "supported by mere metaphysical and sophistical reasoning, only calculated to mislead those who have not paid sufficient attention to the subject."[71]

This document was read to Presbytery and "approved of, without a vote,"[72] and ordered to be recorded.

The last word in the minutes of the Presbytery of Glasgow on this specific event is found in the record of the meeting of 4th May,

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[71] Ibid., pp. 191-194.

[72] Ibid., p. 202.

1808. At this session attention was called to two anonymous pamphlets addressed to the Lord Provost of Glasgow which had been printed and circulated. The contents of these letters condemned the action of the Lord Provost and the decisions of the Presbytery in their handling of Dr. Ritchie and the St. Andrew's congregation. The Presbytery passed a motion at that 4th May meeting which pointed to two particular charges by the anonymous pamphleteer as being erroneous. Also, during that same month, a group of presbyters published the records and letters of the entire case together with an editorial preface and conclusion which attacked the writer of the pamphlets and sought to vindicate the Lord Provost, the Town Council and the Presbytery. This volume, which also vigorously opposed anyone who would not sign his name to a printed document, was almost published anonymously. Admitting that it was an after-thought, the presbyters subscribed their names at the end of their conclusion to the work. They were: William Porteous, John Burns, James Lapslie, Robert Rennie, John Pollock, and James MacLean.

As Lockhart observed in 1819, the idea and the appeal for instrumental music in public worship continued to be a topic of conversation within the Church of Scotland. In 1820, Dr. Andrew Thomson published a collection of psalm and hymn tunes which anticipated the future use of instrumental music. The title of the work was Sacred Harmony. Part I. For the use of St. George's Church, Edinburgh. Being a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, with an Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte. Thomson, the leader of the Evangelical party until his death in 1831, compiled 178 tunes for all the psalms, paraphrases, and hymns plus music for four doxologies, five sanctuses, one dismission, and two anthems. The collection

included some tunes which had been in common use, some which had been in existence but unrecognized, others which had been written in modern times, and a group never before published. One of these latter tunes was the now famous and familiar "St. George's, Edinburgh."

Also contributing to the improvement of church music in the 1820's was Robert Archibald Smith. While he was the precentor in the Abbey Church of Paisley, Smith published Devotional Music, Original and Selected; Anthems in Four Vocal Parts; and a large portion of The Scottish Minstrel in six volumes. In 1823, he was appointed conductor of psalmody at St. George's, Edinburgh. There this voluminous composer combined talents with the energetic Dr. Thomson to edit several volumes of sacred music and vocal harmony. Dr. M'Crie has documented testimony to the fact that the works of Dr. Thomson and Mr. Smith enriched the music, not only of their Edinburgh congregation, but of the entire country.[73]

Music in public worship in the Presbyterian churches in Scotland between 1796 and 1843 received significant attention. The practice of lining out the psalms and paraphrases was gradually beginning to disappear. The Paraphrases, which had been appended to the Psalter during the eighteenth century, slowly began to be employed in public worship in the early years of the nineteenth century. The return of hymn-singing gave a broader selection of music and a deeper expression to the content of "praise" for participants in worship. The movement toward improvement of music in public worship was not so much a revival of the past as it was a transition forward to the Church's recognition and utilization of music's unique role in public worship as a joyful noise to God.

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[73]M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 319-320.

STEADFAST TRADITIONS IN PUBLIC PRAYER

The practice of extempore prayer in public worship at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the continuation of over 150 years of tradition in the Reformed Churches of Scotland. Extempore prayer in public worship was an innovation in the early years of the seventeenth century. Prior to that period, the Reformation Church had used, with few exceptions, a service book. Beginning with The Second Book of Common Prayers of King Edward VI, which was authorised by the Scottish Protestant Lords in Council in 1557,[74] the Reformed Church widely followed a liturgical form for over eighty years. In 1559, John Knox brought the Book of Geneva to his homeland where it began to be used. It was first officially recognised in 1562, when the General Assembly appointed its uniform use in the "ministratioun of the sacraments, solemnizatioun of marriages, and buriall of the dead."[75] Adapted and enlarged, the Book of Geneva was officially sanctioned by the General Assembly of 1564 which "ordeaned, that everie minister, exhorter, and reader, sall have one of the Psalmes bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order conteaned therein, in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments."[76] Known as "Knox's Liturgy" or "Book of Common Order," the revised Book of Geneva was bound with the Psalter. This two-part volume became

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[74]David Laing (ed.) The Works of John Knox, Vol. I, p. 275. "It is thought expedient, devised, and ordeaned, that in all parochines of this Realme the Commoun Prayeris be redd owklie on Sounday, and other festuall dayis, publictlie in the Paroche Kirkis, with the Lessonis of the New and Old Testament, conforme to the ordour of the Book of Common Prayeris."

[75]David Calderwood, The History of the Kirk of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 209.

[76]Ibid., p. 284.

commonly referred to as the "Psalm Book." Although this work contained the law of the Church as to worship until 1645, its universal employment began to decrease sometime before 1637. Ministers and readers began to lay aside the prayer book, not in support of another service book, but in favor of extempore prayer. One of these advocates, Samuel Rutherford, expressed his convictions in 1640 by writing: "Anent read prayers. I could never see precept, promise, or practice for them, in God's word. Our church never allowed them, but men took them up at their own choice. The word of God maketh reading (I Timothy iv.3) and praying (I Thessalonians v.17) two different worships. In reading, God speaketh to us (II Kings xxii.10,11); in praying, we speak to God (Psalms xxii.2, xxviii.1). In my weak judgment, it were good if they were out of the service of God."[77]

One of the most contributing factors in the movement towards extempore prayer in public worship was the attempt by Charles I to establish a new service book in Scotland. A new form of service, modelled closely after the English Prayer-Book, was ordered to be used in every kirk in Scotland. Though Archbishop Laud played a prominent role in drafting this service book, modern historians claim that "probably no one would now seriously contend that the traditional term 'Laud's Liturgy' -- however convenient as a label -- represents the substance of historical truth . . . The fuller information which has now become available about the composition of the liturgy . . . confirm the view that the responsibility for the chief characteristics of the book of 1637 belongs to the Scottish bishops and not to the king or to Laud."[78] It was first used on 23rd July, 1637, in St.

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[77]Andrew A. Bonar, Letters of Samuel Rutherford, p. 611.

[78]Gordon Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, p. 78.

Giles's Church, Edinburgh. This event was the occasion of riots in the churches of Edinburgh which roused the whole nation. Rather than being a spontaneous uprise, Gordon Donaldson has pointed out that it was "the chosen occasion for a demonstration by a powerful opposition which was already organised into something little short of conspiracy. There was no possibility that this liturgy or any other could have been considered on its merits."[79] Because Charles I had issued his mandate without first seeking the consultation and approval of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Church regarded it as an encroachment of her rights and liberties. Furthermore, the new service book "was more High Church than the English prayer book itself."[80] Thus, the General Assembly of 1638 retracted "Laud's Liturgy" and reaffirmed the Book of Common Order. The result was that some ministers and readers continued to closely follow the accepted Psalm Book while others joined the ranks of those who laid aside the service book. The latter gained enough prominence that the General Assemblies of 1639, 1640, and 1641,[81] passed Acts against innovations in public worship -- innovations which had been introduced by those who were opposed to all liturgical forms. From the passage of the Westminster Directory to the end of the seventeenth century the practice of extempore prayer in Presbyterian worship became the prevailing mode, although the innovation was not always welcomed. Wodrow stated that "the Lord's Prayer was generally used in the kirks

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[79] Ibid., p. 83.

[80] Edgar, op. cit., p. 85.

[81] Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, op. cit., pp. 42-43, 48. The Act of 1640 was not included in the principal acts of that year. However, it was mentioned in the Act of 1641.

of Edinburgh till the year 1649, and read forms of prayer till the 1647."[82]

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the struggle between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians occasioned a further de-emphasis of liturgy in the Reformed churches. The central difference between Episcopalian and Presbyterian worship was that the former used the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, the Decalogue, and the Apostle's Creed while the latter did not. At the same time extempore prayer became the predominant form of public prayer by ministers. Prayers from the Psalm Book continued to be read during the Reader's Service.[83] By the end of the seventeenth century the Established Church of Scotland had firmly established the method of extempore prayer and had discontinued the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship. Although there was an effort made in 1705 to revive the use of the Lord's Prayer, it was unsuccessful and the form and method of public prayer continued without change during the eighteenth century.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Church of Scotland continued by precept and practice to use the method of extempore prayer in public worship. According to The Scotch Minister's Assistant, two such prayers were given at each service of worship -- one before the sermon and the other following the sermon. These devotions were of considerable length compared with later nineteenth century prayers for public worship. Robertson's three examples of the prayer before the sermon varied from 1770 to 960 words in length while those which were composed to follow the sermon average

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[82]Robert Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. I, p. 274.

[83]Sprott and Leishman, The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

approximately 1050 words. The content of Robertson's prayers followed a regular pattern. The prayer before the sermon concentrated upon adoration of God and His works of grace and mercy; upon man's dependence upon God; and upon the preaching and hearing of the sermon. The prayer after the sermon contained a blessing for the proclamation of the Gospel, supplications for the congregation, and intercessions for the Church, the nation and the needy. As has already been observed, the language was scriptural and the content was Calvinistic and mystical.

Published works at the turn of the century by two of the Church's well-known professors revealed the principal convictions of the National Kirk on the subject of public prayer at that time. The Pastoral Care by Alexander Gerard, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen from 1771 to 1795, was published in 1799 by his son and successor, Dr. Gilbert Gerard. In 1803, George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, published his Theological Institutes. Both of these professors pointed with Christian pride to the fact that the church imposed no liturgy upon her ministers. Principal Hill affirmed that the Church of Scotland, "in adopting a Directory instead of a Liturgy, considers its ministers as men of understanding, of taste, and of sentiment, capable of thinking for themselves, who, without being confined to the repetition of a lesson that has been composed for them, may be permitted to exercise their sacred and important office of leading the devotions of Christian worshippers."[84] Admitting of some "inconveniences" when there are no set forms of prayer, Professor Gerard issued the challenge that "a great deal depends on the minister, and therefore he ought to be at the greatest pains to

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[84]George Hill, Theological Institutes, p. 294.

fit himself for performing this important part of worship in a proper manner."[85] The biggest disadvantage of extempore prayer, according to Dr. Gerard, was that the congregation might judge the talents of the minister by the prayer he offered rather than allow his words to lead them in devotion. From the point of view of the Principal of St. Mary's College, the most frequent and the most plausible criticisms of the church's mode of worship had arisen when ministers did not use "good sense and sound discretion" when special circumstances or events became the object "for special petitions and thanksgivings."[86] Both of these Moderates recommended the Scripture as the primary resource for the proper phraseology and the desirable content of public prayer. "Every part of public prayer ought, as much as possible, to be expressed in the language of scripture,"[87] declared Professor Gerard. He proposed that the minister cultivate fullness and variety of content by writing down and collecting adorations, praises, petitions, and thanksgivings which he encountered in his reading of scripture. On-the-other-hand, warned Principal Hill, "do not think that your prayers become scriptural by your repeating, without selection, and without continued train of thought, passages gathered out of all parts of the Bible."[88] As to the order of content, Gerard suggested that adoration followed by praise, thanksgiving, petition for mercy, confession, repentance, and intercession would be perhaps the most natural order in which to arrange the parts of prayer. However, like Hill, he promoted the policy of intermixing the parts

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[85]Alexander Gerard, The Pastoral Care, p. 368.

[86]Hill, op. cit., p. 302.

[87]Gerard, op. cit., p. 370.

[88]Hill, op. cit., p. 299.

through the prayers of the worship service. Principal Hill observed that "it would be a wearisome formality to introduce all of them into every single prayer."[89] The desired composition of public prayer, concluded Gerard, will be achieved "by considering prayer, not as composed of so many parts which should succeed each other, but as an exertion and expression of a pious and holy temper."[90]

Neither Hill nor Gerard made mention of the Lord's Prayer. Nor was it present in any of the prayers of The Scotch Minister's Assistant. As has been mentioned, the Lord's Prayer had been almost universally removed from the worship of the Reformed Churches of Scotland since the end of the seventeenth century. The best known nineteenth century advocate of maintaining this tradition was Andrew Thomson. The Evangelical leader devoted a considerable portion of the second volume of Lectures, Expository and Practical, on Select Portions of Scripture to the subject of prayer, and particularly to the case against the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship. He summarized that prevailing position by advocating that "the form of prayer which our Saviour gave to his disciples was never meant to be binding, as a part of Christian worship, on succeeding ages of the church."[91] He supported this conviction with a five-point argument:

(1) No mention is made of the Lord's Prayer being used in the public worship of the New Testament Church or the Early Church.

(2) The phrase "after this manner, therefore, pray ye" indicates that the prayer was a specimen of the brevity and conciseness which is desirable in public prayer.

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[89] Ibid., p. 297.

[90] Gerard, op. cit., p. 374.

[91] Andrew Thomson, Lectures, Expository and Practical, on Select Portions of Scripture, Vol. II, p. 238.

(3) Christ used phrases from liturgies with which the Jews were familiar, thus indicating that he would not indiscriminately prescribe the same form of prayer to everyone.

(4) We cannot literally pray "Thy kingdom come" because it has already come. Since Christ suffered, was exalted and has sent His Holy Spirit, the Kingdom of God has been at hand. We can only pray for it to come more extensively.

(5) The Lord's Prayer is not offered in the name of Christ. Now that Christ has been exalted, every petition must be presented in his name "that our supplications can be heard and answered."[92]

Thomson concluded his case by stating that the purpose for which Jesus gave his disciples the Lord's Prayer was to provide them with a model, or directory, which would keep them from committing two grave errors. The first was the error of vain repetitions and much speaking. The Lord's Prayer taught that acceptable prayer was concise and comprehensive. The second error was that of a lack of balance in the content of prayer. The Jews abounded in adoration. Through the Lord's Prayer, Jesus presented a formula which achieved a proper balance between adoration and petition. The momentum of tradition and the leadership of Thomson were the primary reasons that the Reformed Churches did not revive the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship during the early period of the nineteenth century.

Posture at public prayer varied at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although sitting was the most common position, there was no prescribed rule. Thus, kneeling or standing could be witnessed in the early 1700's. As the century progressed, standing became the characteristic attitude of Presbyterian devotion. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the acceptable posture for prayer in public worship was that of standing. As Lockhart observed, men were beginning to remove their hats during public worship when the

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[92] Ibid., pp. 238-251.

minister entered the pulpit. This custom began with the removing of the hat for public prayer. By 1825, many were removing their hats for the entire service, although it was still possible to witness hats being worn by men during the sermon.

The period from 1796 to 1843 completed two hundred years of steadfast traditions in public prayer. Although pioneer efforts had been made to provide printed aids to worship, the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland continued the use of extempore prayer. The use of printed prayers, including the Lord's Prayer, were almost totally absent. In a real sense, this was the final period of the universal use of this mode of prayer. For while the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland would continue jealously to guard the privilege of extempore prayer, the second half of the nineteenth century would witness a renaissance of worship which would include the reading by the minister of printed prayers and the congregation praying in unison the Lord's Prayer.

SCRIPTURE READING VIA THE LECTURE

"The disuse of the regular reading of the Scriptures in the churches rendered the common people singularly opposed to any instruction but what had the appearance of being spoken spontaneously and extemporaneously by their teachers. The simple reading of a chapter to them, without note or comment, was as great an offence as a pre-composed form of prayer."[93]

The above quotation is from an account of the Episcopalian minister, Alexander Webster, who was called by the author "the most

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[93]Grace Webster, Memoir of Dr. Charles Webster, With an Account of Dr. Alexander Webster, pp. 343-344.

evangelical clergyman in the city"[94] of Edinburgh in the mid-eighteenth century. This reference is an example of the frequent charges made by eighteenth century Episcopalians that the Reformed Churches of Scotland neglected the reading of Scripture in public worship.

Originally the simple reading of Scripture in public worship in the Reformed Churches of Scotland occurred during the reader's service. In theory the adoption of the Westminster Directory in 1645 ended the function of reader in the Church of Scotland. According to the Directory, the reading of the Bible was to be a regular part of the worship service conducted by the minister. It recommended the reading of one chapter from each of the Old and New Testaments, following the order of the Bible, with the provision that some books, such as the Psalms, could be profitably chosen more often than others. Nevertheless, in practice, many parishes continued the reader's service and others re-introduced the practice during the episcopate of 1662-1689. In spite of General Assembly injunctions in 1694 and 1704 enjoining ministers to follow the Directory's prescription "to read and open up to the people some large and considerable portion of the Word of God,"[95] the plain reading of the Scriptures began to be abandoned at the end of the seventeenth century as the system of lecturing was revived.

By the dawn of the nineteenth century, a long period had elapsed since the simple reading of the Scripture had been present in public worship services. Professor Hill clearly presented the rationale for

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[94] Ibid., p. 39.

[95] Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, op. cit., pp. 238, 327. Sess. 9, April 10, 1697 - Act anent Lecturing; Sess. 8, March 24, 1704 - Act anent Lecturing and Expounding the Holy Scriptures.

the accepted attitude regarding the public reading of the Bible. "At the time when the Directory was composed, many of the people were incapable of reading the Scriptures privately. Now that the excellent parochial institutions of Scotland have extended a certain measure of education to the lowest ranks, so that every person has a Bible, which, from his childhood, he is taught and exhorted to use, it is not judged necessary to adhere precisely to those recommendations, by which the Directory meant to prevent a general ignorance of the Word of God."[96]

Though critics described the absence of a straightforward reading of Scripture in worship as if there were no opportunity to hear the Word of God at all, this was not the case. A substantial portion of one worship service on each Sabbath was devoted to the Lecture. This was the practice of the minister reading and expounding over a selection of Scripture. According to Robert Wodrow, the Lecture was introduced in Edinburgh sometime after 1638 when some ministers objected to the Scriptures being read at the week-day services by persons who were not church officers. The result was that six pastors in the city established a rotation schedule among themselves whereby they could read and explain the Scriptures at those week-day services. "Thus they continued for some years, and at lenth finding it a more considerable work than at first they reconed it and it lying heavy on some who stayed closs in toun when others wer oblidged to be abroad, it was brought to three days in the week; and at lenth it fell in disuse and lectures on the sabbath fornoon came in the room of it."[97] The practice of lecturing spread throughout the Reformed Churches in the mid-seventeenth century. Generally,

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[96]Hill, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

[97]Robert Wodrow, Analecta, Vol. II, p. 291.

though not completely, forbidden during the Restoration period, the Lecture was revived at the time of the Revolution. Through the eighteenth century the Lecture was a regular part of at least one service of a parish's Sabbath worship.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century the Lecture was generally accepted and defended as a mode of worship which mirrored the characteristics of the earliest Christian sermons. The justification for continuing the practice was Christ's commission to ministers to assist the people to understand the Scriptures by interpreting the Word to them. Principal Hill emphasized this purpose with this homiletical advice: "All men feel the value of knowledge when it is brought to the level of their understanding; and you cannot make them a more acceptable present, than by imparting the fruit of your studies in such a form as enables them to perceive the meaning of parts of the Bible, in reading which formerly, they had felt the need of a teacher."[98] Men like Hill felt that the Lecture was so valuable to the knowledge of the people and the discipline of the preacher that they advocated that where three discourses were expected each Sunday it was proper to give two lectures.

In spite of the general acceptance of the Lecture, the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a gradual dissatisfaction of this practice, and a voice for the plain reading of the Scriptures began to be heard from within the Church. This conviction had its geographical origin in the Synod of Aberdeen. It may well be that this movement was, in part, the fruits of the teaching of Alexander Gerard. The King's College Professor claimed that the emphasis upon hearing the Word of God had been lost by the practice of lecturing on every

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[98]Hill, op. cit., p. 333.

verse of Scripture. Dr. Gerard suggested that the method of lecturing could no longer be regarded as a mode of reading the Bible. In his opinion this was the most serious defect in the public worship of the Church of Scotland. He admitted that a change to the simple reading of the Scriptures would almost create a schism, even though it would be supported by the authority of the Directory. Nevertheless, wrote Gerard, "I know nothing which better deserves a man's running the risk of giving offence, than restoring the public reading of the scriptures."[99] He went on to teach a gradual way of correcting this defect "by lecturing on large portions of scripture, first making the explication shorter than ordinary, then passing over some of the easier verses without any explication; then explaining only a few of the most difficult verses; and afterwards, reading a whole chapter, and only subjoining some practical observations upon it."[100]

With this exhortation being made to divinity students in Aberdeen by Professor Gerard and later by his son, the ministers in the Synod of Aberdeen sought to revive the practice of reading the Scriptures according to the Directory. In 1812, the Presbytery of Aberdeen overtured the General Assembly to revive this practice throughout the Church. On 1st June, 1812, the General Assembly considered the overture and passed an act which revealed the increasingly mixed attitude of the Church in this matter. On the one hand, the General Assembly approved the spirit of the overture, recognized with satisfaction the action of the Synod of Aberdeen regarding the revival of Scripture reading according to the Directory, and recommended "to all ministers of this Church, according to their discretion, to read at one of the

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[99] Gerard, op. cit., p. 367.

[100] Ibid.

meetings for public worship such portion of the Old or New Testament, or of both, as they may judge expedient."[101] On the other hand, the General Assembly reaffirmed its strong approval of the system of lecturing by clearly stating that the above recommendation was in no way intended to supersede the practice of lecturing, "which they enjoin to be observed throughout this Church, in conformity to the Acts of Assembly, 1694 and 1704, as a most important branch of the public ministrations of pastors and teachers."[102]

This was the last official word on the subject during the first half of the nineteenth century. From 1796 to 1843, the Reformed Churches of Scotland commonly continued the tradition of lecturing. The Word of God was heard by the method of explaining a passage of Scripture verse by verse. At the same time, a desire was being expressed in some quarters for a more strict adherance to the mode of Scripture reading prescribed by the Directory for Worship. However, like the mode of public prayer, the tradition of lecturing was continued in essentially the same manner that it was used in public worship during the eighteenth century.

THE SERMON: CENTER AND CLIMAX OF PUBLIC WORSHIP

The Directory for the Publick Worship of God declared: "Preaching of the word, being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be

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[101] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842*, *op. cit.*, p. 931.

[102] *Ibid.*

ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him."[103]

In seventeenth century public worship: "The sermon was the outstanding feature of the regular services in Scotland throughout the seventeenth century."[104]

In eighteenth century public worship: "The chief act in the service was the sermon."[105]

In nineteenth century public worship: "It is well known that in Protestant churches generally, and in the Church of Scotland in particular, the preaching of the word has always been reckoned the chief part of the service of the sanctuary."[106]

The most deeply embedded concept concerning public worship at the commencement of the nineteenth century was that the preaching of the Word was the climactic act of worship. This conviction was given birth at the Reformation when the Calvinistic, two-fold emphasis of the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments was brought to these shores by John Knox. Unlike the jagged history of the other component parts of the public worship of God, the high importance of the sermon had been maintained for nearly two and one-half centuries. And the exalted position of the sermon was maintained during the period of this study. Thus, a study of the sermon in public worship is centered, not in its place of importance, but in observing the methods and characteristics of preaching.

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[103] The Confession of Faith; Etc., p. 535.

[104] Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland, op. cit., p. 190.

[105] Watson, op. cit., p. 108.

[106] Edgar, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

The Scottish pulpit of the eighteenth century experienced marked changes in the approach to composing the sermon and in the manner in which it was delivered to the congregation. The age of enlightenment was the age of Moderatism in the Church of Scotland. Following the enlightenment themes of philosophy and literature, the Moderates stressed morality and ethics in lengthy discourses which were composed with a new conscientiousness for proper language and sentence construction. Not only did they write their sermons with precision, but they also took the precaution of delivering their compositions from their manuscripts. This method also had its affect upon the Evangelicals of the early eighteenth century. "The early Evangelicals regarded it as a fault, if not a sin, to preach with the help of a manuscript; but many of their successors in the age of the Moderates composed with great care. It became fashionable to prepare volumes of sermons for publication . . . Both Moderate and Evangelical learned to give attention to such technical matters as language and construction."[107]

The eighteenth century preacher delivered two sermons each Sunday. Some parishes also continued the custom of an additional week-day service at which the pastor delivered his third sermon of the week. Moderates and Evangelicals maintained the tradition of preaching from an "ordinar." An "ordinar" was a selected subject or text from which a minister would preach his sermons for a number of consecutive weeks, or even months. This style of preaching was founded upon a recommendation made in the First Book of Discipline.[108]

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[107]Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929, p. 111.

[108]James K. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, p. 185. ". . . where the Minister for the most part remains in one place. For this skipping and divagation from place to place of Scripture, be it

So anticipated was this practice that a regular question asked by Presbytery visitation committees was whether the selection of Scripture used on the previous Sabbath was the minister's ordinary text any time previously. The approved answer was "Yes". Congregations also expected their pastors to follow this tradition. Edgar noted that the parishioners of Craigie issued a complaint to the Presbytery of Ayr in 1707, which included the following criticism of their minister's pulpit practices: "His words in prayer are not connected, and he hath too frequent repetition of God's name in prayer, and he doth often change his text, and doth not raise many heads, and doth not prosecute such as he names but scruffs them."[109] Edgar gives examples of ordinars which lasted as few as three consecutive weeks and others which continued as long as one year, seven months "except for a few Sundays before and after the communion."[110] Old Church Life in Scotland further provides evidence that the ordinary continued to be used until the end of the eighteenth century. Presbyteries used this method as a means of providing an exhaustive commentary upon a book of the Bible or a full treatise about a particular subject. "For instance, on the 28th October, 1766, the text appointed by the Presbytery of Ayr for the opening sermon at their next meeting was the first verse of the first chapter of the General Epistle of James. Verse after verse of this epistle was then in regular order appointed as the text for the next Presbyterial sermon till the whole epistle had been gone through. The last of this series of discourses

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in preaching we judge not so profitable to edifie the Kirk as the continuall following of one text."

[109]Edgar, op. cit., p. 99. (See also, G. D. Henderson, Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland, op. cit., pp. 154, 196.)

[110]Ibid., pp. 96-98.

was given in the beginning of 1792, more than twenty-five years after the first of the series had been preached!"[111]

While the weight of historical evidence concurs that Moderate preaching was characterised by its emphasis upon philosophy, morality, and ethics, it ought not to be concluded that the dominant party of the eighteenth century gave no attention to Christian doctrine. Following the first Secession of 1733, with the Church of Scotland predominantly controlled by the Moderate party, the General Assemblies of 1736 and 1749 evidenced a concern for the preaching of true Christian doctrine and Reformation principles.[112] Similar concern was most strongly emphasised in the rise of a new Evangelicalism. Partly as a reaction to the dominant Moderatism of the century, the preaching of the new Evangelicals was so entirely doctrinal that it almost wholly overlooked the moral and ethical teachings of the Gospel. This marked characteristic of the Evangelicals tended to obscure what attention the Moderates paid to the fundamentals of the faith. Campbell's critical evaluation is especially noteworthy with regard to the rise of Evangelicalism:

> "The earlier Evangelicals were much engrossed in questions of church government and discipline; but many of the later Evangelicals looked upon these things with indifference, and were chiefly concerned with personal faith or regeneration, matters which Wesley and Whitefield had taught them to regard as of supreme, if not sole, importance . . . [Evangelicalism] had all its old faults. It was fiercely

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[111] Ibid., p. 100.

[112] Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, op. cit., pp. 636-637, 698-699. Act 7, Sess. 8, May 21, 1736. "Act concerning Preaching" was a call to a closer obedience of the Directory concerning preaching, and a warning against heresies. Act 4, Sess. 8, May 19, 1749. "Act and Recommendation for Preaching on the Principles of the Reformation and Revolution" urged that at least four Sundays each year be devoted to the truth "of pure Christianity opposite to the errors and corruptions of Popery."

> intolerant, aggressively dogmatic. It was true; it alone was true; and to oppose, to criticise, or even to doubt it was to incur the wrath of Heaven. Of those who did not accept its tenets it was accustomed to speak censoriously, bitterly, and on occasion calumniously. Such persons it held, were devoid of vital religion; they had no knowledge of the Gospel -- the word interpreted to mean the Evangelical system of doctrine."[113]

The Evangelicals strongly believed in the power of preaching. Their stern Calvinistic theme was sounded at a time when Scotland was beginning to be aware of the threatening events which were taking place in France. During the upheaval and insecurity of the second half of the eighteenth century, the Evangelicals spoke with an authority for which the people were grasping. "Men roused out their long repose, became painfully aware of necessities which craved immediate relief. They felt that hunger of soul for suitable spiritual food which naturally follows a long period of spiritual destitution or inadequate supply."[114] And Hector Macpherson observed: "I then saw individuals of great political influence, who for many years had never entered a church door, ostentatiously walking up and down the High Street of Edinburgh with their Bibles in their hands to attend public worship."[115] At the close of the eighteenth century the Evangelicals were truly the Popular Party, although the Moderates were still the party in power.

During the period from 1796 to 1843, Moderatism steadily declined and Evangelicalism increased over the country. The chief difference between the two parties in the Church of Scotland was

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[113]Campbell, op. cit., p. 150.

[114]William Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit, p. 27. This quotation was from Dr. Alexander, "Memoir of Ralph Wardlaw" ubi supra, pp. 43-44.

[115]Hector Macpherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence, p. 170.

ecclesiastical rather than theological. Furthermore, each division laboured in different spheres. The Moderates were active in the intellectual realms of philosophy and literature. Thus, they appealed to the educated class. The Evangelicals were involved with the practical matters of social justice. Thus, they appealed to the masses. But when it came to matters of theology and doctrine, there was seldom any division distinctly made according to party lines. There was also general agreement in the whole church of the necessity of proper academic training for the clergy. Following the leadership of Principal Hill, the courses for divinity students were revised and enforced. These continued to emphasise the central importance of the sermon in public worship. Thus, in his work which covers all aspects of pastoral care, Professor Gerard devoted nearly one-third of his text book to the subject of preaching.

The text-books of Hill and Gerard complement one another in revealing the content of courses for the training of divinity students. The Principal of St. Mary's College approached the subject of preaching from the viewpoint of the department of theology, while the Aberdeen Professor compiled his lectures from the standpoint of homiletics. From these two perspectives, they converged to a point of general agreement regarding the duties of the pastor as a preacher. They specifically noted that the usefulness of the ordinar had past. Referring to this custom, Hill admitted that it was a convenient method for the preacher partly because a certain amount of time was spent in each sermon repeating what had previously been said about the text. On the other hand, he charged that the ordinary was tiresome to the congregation and that the message from the text became so dissected that it separated doctrine and practice. Therefore,

directed Principal Hill, "you will probably accommodate your manner of preaching to the times in which you live, by changing your text frequently."[116] Both authors stressed the importance of the sermon text. However, neither of them placed expository preaching as the only type of sermon to be written. Hill equally recommended expository, historical, and topical sermons, while Professor Gerard discribed four different kinds of discourses:

(1) instructive or explicatory discourses;

(2) convictive or probatory discourses;

(3) panegyrical or demonstrative discourses; and

(4) persuasive or suasory discourses.

Concerning the selection and use of the scriptural text, Gerard stated that, although the sermon is founded on scripture, "it is, perhaps, the best way in general to choose the subject and form the design of the discourse first of all, then to fix on a text which expresses it, and with that text in view to compose the discourse."[117]

Reading the sermon from the manuscript, which had been introduced and practiced primarily by the eighteenth century Moderates, was not advocated at the end of that century nor during the first decades of the nineteenth. Divinity students were challenged to exercise to the fullest their ability to deliver their sermons from memory. Convinced that by practice and by careful preparation a minister could repeat his discourse from memory, Principal Hill warned that "if you do not feel the desire of attaining that kind of eminence in preaching to which repetition is, in my opinion, indispensable, I have only to say, that it is your duty to avoid that slavish mode of reading, which

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[116] Hill, op. cit., pp. 353-354.

[117] Gerard, op. cit., p. 328.

is always uninteresting and offensive."[118] However, Gerard, recognising the varying degrees of ability among men and the fallibility of the human mind, suggested that "one ought to have his notes before him, to which he may have recourse in case of his being at a loss of memory."[119] Like Hill, Gerard declared that read sermons were "so cold and lifeless . . . that what he says, be it ever so good in itself, can never affect his hearers."[120]

Those preachers of the early nineteenth century who are remembered for affecting their hearers belonged to the Evangelical camp. The renowned Moderate preacher, Dr. Hugh Blair, died 27th December, 1800. In the year of his death, the twenty-second edition of his sermons was published in four volumes. Regarding Blair's discourses, Leslie Stephen perceptibly and concisely wrote this critique: "They are the best examples of the sensible, if unimpassioned and rather affected style of the moderate divines of the age."[121] Seven years prior to the passing of Dr. Blair, there had occurred the death of Principal William Robertson, the celebrated leader of the Moderate party for twenty-eight years (1752-1780). In 1805, five years after Dr. Blair's death, Alexander Carlyle also died. Carlyle was the most extreme voice of the Moderate school in Scotland. The passing of these three individuals, and the failure of the Moderates to produce a number of effective preachers and leaders to succeed them signaled the decline of Moderatism's voice in the pulpit and power in the Church. Campbell charged that many of the

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[118] Hill, op. cit., p. 390.

[119] Gerard, op. cit., p. 354.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. V, pp. 160-161.

Moderates lost faith in the office of preaching. Thus, they composed enough sermons to last for a few years and became content to repeat them in rotation for the remainder of their ministries.[122] The successor to Robertson as leader of the Moderates was Principal Hill. Although Hill, the professor, emphasised the importance of preaching, Hill, the preacher, was said to have had only sermons adequate for a three-year rotation.[123]

The ascendency of the Evangelicals in the second half of the eighteenth century was primarily evident in the strength they exerted from the pulpit. Significant evidence of this is contained in Sir Walter Scott's novel, Guy Mannering. In one of the episodes in this work, an Englishman is taken to Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, to witness a specimen of the preaching which was most responsible for moulding the religious life of the Scottish people. Although Scott was known to be in sympathy with Moderatism, he selected Dr. John Erskine, the leader of the Evangelical party, for this profile of Scottish preaching.[124] Erskine, described in Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae as the "master of the preacher's art,"[125] was a colleague of Principal Robertson at Old Greyfriars for twenty-six years. Dr. Erskine's death also took place at an early date in the nineteenth century -- 19th January, 1803. However, the Evangelicals were not left without outstanding leadership. And the men who guided the Popular Party through its ascendency to power in the first three

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[122]Campbell, op. cit., p. 151.

[123]James F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843, p. 173.

[124]R. F. Winch, Scott's Guy Mannering, pp. 358-360.

[125]Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. I, p. 47.

decades of the 1800's were distinguished for their ability in the pulpit.

The most distinguished preacher in Scotland during the first decade of the nineteenth century was Dr. Andrew M. Thomson (1779-1831), who succeeded Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood as the leader of the Evangelical party. Licensed by the Presbytery of Kelso in 1800, ordained at Sprouston in 1802, translated to East Parish, Perth, in 1808, Thomson immediately revealed a capacity for leadership and a variety of talents. In 1810, he was translated to New Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and in 1814, Thomson became the pastor of St. George's, Edinburgh, where he served until his unexpected death in 1831. Beyond being an accomplished musician, composer of psalm tunes, and the founder and first editor of a monthly magazine entitled, The Christian Instructor, Thomson was remembered by his contemporaries for his gifts as a preacher and as a public orator. Further testimony of his effectiveness in the pulpit is borne by the fact that the most intelligent and the most influencial citizens of Edinburgh were members and regular attenders at public worship in St. George's. It seems that Thomson attracted the audience to which Moderatism had directed its appeal. He even used the Moderates' method of carefully composing his sermons and delivering them from the manuscript. Nevertheless, he was able to read and, at the same time, maintain eye-contact with his congregation. Thomson brought to his party certain qualities of which many earlier evangelicals had been lacking. His rapport with his congregation was enhanced by his concern for the welfare of his listeners and for the triumph of Evangelicalism in the Scottish Church. Blaikie observed that it was Thomson's warmth for people and vigour for the predominance of Evangelicalism which "pre-eminently made his

preaching so telling."[126] William Taylor lauded the Evangelical leader because "he brought back culture into the pulpit without in the least degree obscuring the Cross."[127] Dr. Thomson was also sensitive and sympathetic towards young people. In the First Series of Chalmers Lectures, Sir Henry Moncreiff recalled: "I personally owe more to him than to any other human being for my present principles and position. In early youth I shared the effect produced upon multitudes of young men by the union of strength and tenderness in his pulpit ministrations."[128]

Andrew Thomson's leadership was short, but his legacy was far-reaching for the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century. As Moderatism waned, Dr. Thomson gave to the waiting Church a strong heartbeat and a clear voice with which the Body of Christ would proclaim the Gospel and apply it to the human situation. Concerning the place of the sermon, Thomson witnessed to its traditional high position but not to its isolation from the service of the Church. The pulpit was an integral part of the pastoral ministry to which Evangelicalism gave revived emphasis. Thomson pointed the way by which the sermon in public worship could from its pedestal position become a practical part of one's pastoral ministry and thereby attract people to give eager and expectant attention to the preaching of the Word. This legacy was clearly emphasised by Thomas Chalmers in the funeral sermon he delivered following Thomson's sudden death at the age of fifty-three. Chalmers pointed to the fact that many would

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[126]Blaikie, op. cit., p. 273.

[127]Taylor, op. cit., p. 168.

[128]Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, The Free Church Principle: Its Character and History, p. 223.

recall by their own experience "that the vigour of his pulpit was only equalled by the fidelity and the tenderness of his household ministrations . . . It is this which furnishes the key to every heart, and when the triumphs of charity are superadded to the triumphs of argument, then it is that he sits enthroned over the affections of a willing people."[129]

During the Evangelical revival, the one preacher who surpassed the gifted Thomson was Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847). In 1799, upon the occasion of being licensed to preach, the nineteen year old Chalmers was prophetically described as "a lad o' pregnant pairts."[130] In the decade which followed, Chalmers potential was developed in the academic areas of science, mathematics, and philosophy rather than in the ecclesiastical realms of being pastor, preacher and presbyter. He was opposed to the Evangelical revival and did not care for the personnel nor the pronouncements of the Evangelical party. He justified his dual role as university lecturer in mathematics at St. Andrews and as parish pastor at Kilmany by the conviction that a country parson could fulfill his duty by working two days in the week -- one day for preparing sermons and the other day for delivering them. Then, between 1806 and 1810, a series of experiences caused Chalmers to undergo a strenuous self-examination of his knowledge and convictions about Christianity. Hugh Watt makes the interesting observation that none of the varied instruments which brought about the change in Chalmers life may be credited directly or decisively to any Evangelicals with whom he came in contact.[131] Nevertheless, Chalmers personally

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[129]Blaikie, op. cit., pp. 275-276.

[130]William Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., L.L.D., p. 19.

[131]Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, p. 37.

experienced a great change which was climaxed in 1811. From that date until his death in 1847, Thomas Chalmers directed his extraordinary talents and his indefatigable energy to the cause of Evangelicalism as a pastor, professor, moral reformer, and churchman.

Chalmers' remarkable pastoral ministry took place within the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Following a twelve-year tenure at Kilmany, he accepted a call to the Tron Church, Glasgow, in 1815, and then translated to St. John's Church in that city in 1819. After only eight years in Glasgow, Chalmers turned to the field of teaching in 1823 when he became professor of moral philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Nevertheless, during the short pastoral ministry of the "new Chalmers," he established himself as the outstanding Scottish preacher of the nineteenth century. Possessing a talent for oratory since childhood, this unique preacher employed a unique style of preaching. This form emerged partly from his scientific mind which gave him an emphatic attitude toward the Bible as the authoritative Word of God. As Blaikie noted: "The man of science differed from the theologian in having a different book to study and to follow . . . But though the volume was different, the way to use it was the same."[132] His form of preaching was also moulded by his motivation to stir his listeners to their souls. So methodical and so anxious was Chalmers to drive the Gospel message into the heart of the daily life of his congregation that a sermon by the rising Evangelical leader was characterised by continually reproducing a single truth with a variety of expressions and with an increasing intensity of exuberance. "Never did a preacher devote himself more thoroughly to the great business of moving men. To produce movement was his

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[132]Blaikie, op. cit., p. 280.

passion; movement along evangelical lines, and always directed to a glorious consummation -- the salvation of individuals, and the production of a happy, prosperous, regenerated community."[133]

By the standards of any text-book for public speakers, Thomas Chalmers would have been graded below average. His sermons contained long sentences which do not lend themselves to memorization nor to a silent reading by anyone other than the writer himself. Chalmers' delivery was by the method of reading from the manuscript. What would appear to be a defect in his method of presentation was his lack of smoothness and poise. He usually leaned upon the pulpit in a hunched posture. Furthermore, he had an unattractive, highly pitched voice with which he delivered the whole discourse in the same key. What, therefore, made this man, with the unique style and the unorthodox delivery, become the foremost preacher of Scotland in his century? The only plausible source of his greatness was his heart. The prime factor of his overwhelming power and effectiveness was spiritual conviction concerning the needs of humanity. Chalmers had an acute grasp of the true cravings of the human spirit, and this was accompanied by the intense conviction that the revelation of God in Jesus Christ was able to meet and supply every need. Chalmers was thoroughly Calvinistic in his theology. He enjoyed the study of dogmatics. But as a preacher and pastor, he was primarily a practical theologian. And to him more than to anyone else is due the fact that the Evangelical movement was chiefly concerned with practical Christianity rather than systematic theology. Referring to his style and manner of delivery, Edwin Dargan commented: "He was terribly in earnest but not self-seeking, impetuous but thoughtful, strong wise, trustworthy,

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[133] Ibid.

and pure. . . . There was wonderful power and mastery in the man, in the thought, in the style itself, that a manuscript could not chain, nor reading reduce to tameness."[134] Dr. Chalmers believed what he preached. His whole being was so consumed by the message he preached that it aroused his listeners. He saw so clearly the human situation and the divine remedy that his congregation also caught the vision. The heart of the pulpit orator was his chief source of arresting eloquence and overmastering power which achieved the purpose of stirring men into action. In 1887, Taylor could still testify that "wherever, to this day, you meet with one who was privileged to listen to him from the pulpit, you will be sure to find him repeating to you the essence of the sermon which the great orator had distilled into a phrase that could not be misunderstood, and that would not allow itself to be forgotten."[135]

The third notable Scottish preacher of the period under consideration was Edward Irving (1792-1834). While serving as headmaster and teacher at the Kirkcaldy Academy, he was licensed to preach in 1815. After resigning from teaching, Irving lived for nearly two years in Edinburgh, where in 1819 he was asked to preach one Sunday in Andrew Thomson's pulpit in St. George's Church. Thomas Chalmers was in the congregation that Sunday, and he was looking for an assistant to work with him at St. John's Church, Glasgow. As a result, Irving began his public ministry in October, 1819, as Dr. Chalmers' "helper." Though contemplating the possibility of becoming a missionary to the Far East, Irving accepted a call in 1822 to become the pastor of the Caledonian Church at Hatton Garden, London. It was

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[134]Edwin C. Dargan, A History of Preaching, Vol. II, pp. 491-492.

[135]Taylor, op. cit., p. 214.

a weak, deteriorating Presbyterian congregation of barely fifty people. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Irving aroused a sensation comparable to that caused by George Whitefield in the previous century. "He produced," wrote Dr. John Stoughton, "an excitement which, from the extent to which it prevailed, the class of persons it affected, and the prophetic fervor which it displayed, rose to the importance of a national event."[136] The large crowds which began to converge upon the little church included men and women from all classes of society. Sir James Mackintosh and George Canning were among the early notables to hear Irving. Canning subsequently reported to the House of Commons that "he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister . . . preach the most eloquent sermon that he had ever listened to."[137] This famous comment has been given no little credit for the initial surge of upper class Londoners whose carriages queued around the shabby corner at Hatton Garden each Sunday. Within three months, the applications for sittings rose to 1,500 at the little kirk which had been hardly more than a chapel to the Caledonian Orphanage.

There was no single cause of Edward Irving's sudden fame. One of the earliest biographies by William Jones pointed to Irving's style and manner of preaching as differing "so widely from everything that was then to be found, even in this immense metropolis, that he could not fail of speedily obtaining notice."[138] Another who was impressed by Irving's style was a young man by the name of Frederick Denison Maurice who wrote to his sister that he was profoundly inspired by

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[136] John Stoughton, History of Religion in England, Vol. VII, p. 374.

[137] Mrs. Oliphant, The Life of Edward Irving, Vol. I, p. 159.

[138] William Jones, Biographical Sketch of Irving, p. 28.

Irving's extreme sincerity and by the simplicity of his sermon "which expounded one part of Scripture by another in a way that I never remember to have heard before. An assertion of his -- that the Old Testament is the dictionary of the New -- throws a light upon some things which have been puzzling me very much, and I think it quite a guiding light in all Biblical Studies."[139] Many others who sought to explain the sudden fame of the Scottish preacher pointed to his extraordinary appearance. Even writers whose books and pamphlets were intended to discuss his theology could hardly refrain from at least presenting a prefatory picture of Irving's impressive physical features. For example, Mrs. Oliphant quoted a very lengthy and equally vivid description of Irving which was found in a pamphlet entitled, An Examination and Defence of the Writings and Preaching of the Rev. Edward Irving, A.M. A portion of this verbal portrait reads:

> "He is in height not less than six feet, and is proportionably strongly built. His every feature seems to be impressed with the characters of unconquerable courage and overpowering intellect. He has a head cast in the best Scottish mould, and ornamented with a profusion of long black curly hair. His forehead is broad, deep, and expansive. His thick, black, projecting eyebrows overhang a very dark, small, and rather deep-set penetrating eye. He has the nose of his nation; his mouth is beautifully formed, and exceedingly expressive of eloquence."[140]

Still others emphasised Irving's gift of a great voice as a clue to his fame. It was said that when preaching in the open air, the former school teacher could be heard a quarter of a mile away. Blaikie attested that "to hear him repeat the Lord's Prayer was like listening

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[139]Frederick Maurice (ed.), The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Vol. I, p. 107.

[140]Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., Vol I, p. 173.

to an exquisite piece of music."[141] The reflective evaluation by some historians credit at least a portion of Irving's prominence to the current events of the early nineteenth century. The atmosphere was said to be right for the phenomenon of a "meteor in the moral and religious world, a nine days wonder."[142] When Irving went to London, a revival of religious enthusiasm was beginning. The French revolution had created an anxiety which was receptive of messages of prophecy and eschatology. An article in the Dictionary of National Biography carried the idea further to speculate that Irving's sensation may have been a "premonition of the great sacerdotal reaction which occurred ten years later, a reaction grounded on very different postulates and supported by very different arguments, but equally expressive of a tendency in the times."[143] All of the above explanations contributed a part to the total reason for the overnight rise to fame of Edward Irving. It was the combination of circumstances which was the key to his popularity. In expressing this unity of causes, Mrs. Oliphant pointed to the preacher's entire person: "The fascination of which never wholly faded from Irving's impassioned lips, lay in the fact that it was not mere genius or eloquence, great as their magic is, but something infinitely greater -- a man, all visible in those hours of revelation, striving mightily with every man he met, in an entire personal unity which is possible to very few, and which never fails, where it appears, to exercise an influence superior to any merely intellectual endowment."[144]

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[141] Blaikie, op. cit., p. 290.

[142] Jones, op. cit., p. iv.

[143] Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXIX, p. 53.

[144] Mrs. Oliphant, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 161.

Early in the second year of Irving's London ministry, he published his first book, the Orations and the Argument for Judgment to Come. In the Preface, he stated a two-fold critique of preaching in the nineteenth century. Claiming to have studied the subject for over ten years, he concluded that "the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the minds of men, is the want of its being sufficiently presented to them. In this Christian country there are perhaps nine-tenths of every class who know nothing at all about the application and advantages of the single truths of revelation, or of revelation taken as a whole . . . This ignorance . . . is due to the want of a sedulous and skilful ministry on the part of those to whom it is intrusted."[145] Irving criticised the preaching of the day as being flaccid and spiritless because the real aim of preaching -- the presentation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ -- had been left out. He charged that sermons had become merely literary essays on philosophy and ethics. The solution which the authoritative, young pastor proposed was for the pulpit to face the future rather than the past. "If the Church had an object in the future, to carry her eye forward with longing desire and diligent observation, everything would naturally come into its true place again, and the lines of prophetic revelation would be observed all converging to a certain great event in the future history of the world, called the Advent of the Lord, of which such glorious things have been spoken since the beginning of time."[146] Irving firmly believed that the Church must concentrate upon her prophetic voice and that the foundation stone for this proclamation was an understanding of the Second Coming of Christ.

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[145] Ibid., p. 165.

[146] H. C. Whitley, Blinded Eagle, p. 38.

Along with this theme, Irving's dogmatic sermons emphasized the efficacy of baptism, the real spiritual presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the elements of Holy Communion, and the doctrine of the Incarnation. Principal Tulloch discerned that "Irving had really reverted to an older and more catholic type of doctrine. It had not been customary in Scotland to dwell on the Incarnation in connection with the sufferings and the atonement of Christ. Irving saw . . . their organic connection. The reality of Christ's human nature, 'as bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,' became a cardinal point of his theology."[147] His doctrinal, dogmatic sermons were read from the pulpit. They were extremely long. He once preached a four hour discourse to the London Missionary Society during which he paused twice to let the audience sing a few verses of a hymn. However, he admitted to Chalmers that he could bring himself down to an hour and forty minutes on occasion. His discourses characteristically concluded with a thunderous appeal to his audience to confess their sins and to come to terms with God.

In 1825, Irving began to concentrate his sermons more and more upon the subject of the Second Advent. By 1826, this topic almost totally absorbed him. This marked the beginning of a change in Irving from one type of phenomenon to quite another. As a preacher, his popularity waned. He began to extemporize from the pulpit and to speak at random. He developed controversial theories about the imminence of the Second Advent and became identified with the Albury conferences. Irving and his congregation moved into a new National Scots Church at Regent Square in 1827. That same year a faint whisper

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[147] John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, pp. 158-159.

was heard of heresy being charged against Irving's doctrine of the Incarnation. However, it was three years later when the storm struck. Threatened with being tried for heresy by the London Presbytery, Irving withdrew from their jurisdiction. To complicate matters Irving's worship services began to include exhortations attributed to be the speaking in tongues. In 1832 the London Presbytery removed Irving from his charge. Followed by 800 members of the Regent Square Church, Irving became a street preacher. His followers established the Catholic Apostolic Church. Irving himself actually played a minor role in its organization and development. In 1833, his hometown Presbytery of Annan deposed him from the Church of Scotland on the charge of heresy regarding his preaching of the nature of Christ. As Principal Burleigh has noted: "What in his teaching appeared as heresy to most good men in his day was in fact a groping for a profounder view of the true full and real humanity of the Man of Sorrows."[148] Profound, controversial, and perhaps misunderstood, Edward Irving died in 1834. One of the greatest Scottish preachers of the nineteenth century, Irving left this life broken in health and, in a real sense, without a church.

There were other ministers in the Reformed Churches of Scotland during the first four decades of the nineteenth century who were distinguished by their pulpit effectiveness. Dr. Thomas M'Crie (1772-1835), the famous biographer of John Knox, was the noted preacher of the early nineteenth century in the Original Secession Church. Serving in Edinburgh from 1796 until his death, M'Crie was a friend of Andrew Thomson and assisted him in the work of producing the Evangelical magazine, The Christian Instructor. As a preacher, the famous

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[148]Burleigh, op. cit., p. 331.

historian attracted those who were willing to have their minds stretched and challenged. "Under his preaching," summarized Blaikie, "his people were taught to think as well as to feel; not only were their souls fed, but their minds were enlarged, and their taste was purified."[149] Also in the Secession Church, John Brown (1784-1858) began a ministry in 1822 at Edinburgh which was distinguished by his Scriptural exegesis of his sermon texts. In a day in which the Bible was primarily used to prove the doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith, Brown made a significant contribution to nineteenth century preaching by his expository discourses. In the Relief Church, Dr. William Anderson (1799-1872) became the pastor of John Street Church, Glasgow, in 1820. His preaching ministry received the magnified commendation of Taylor who penned that Anderson "more than any other man in Scotland vindicated the liberty of the pulpit to deal with any subject that concerned the welfare of humanity."[150]

As the first thirty-three years of the nineteenth century came to a close, the public worship services in the Reformed Churches of Scotland continued their historical tradition of being centered in the sermon. The Evangelicals supplied the most popular preachers of the period. Ceasing the practice of using an ordinar, these preachers turned to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith as their source for topical and doctrinal discourses. The divinity of Christ and the atonement were the doctrines most emphasised from the Scottish pulpit while the topical discourses were most commonly taken from the general subject of soteriology. Scripture was used as proof texts for the topics or the doctrines being discussed in the sermon. The

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[149]Blaikie, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

[150]Taylor, op. cit., p. 240.

Scottish pulpit maintained its Reformed heritage of a theology which was a stern, scholastic Calvinism. These straightforward, well-outlined, carefully prepared discourses were often delivered from the manuscript, although the divinity halls were encouraging the practice of preaching from memory. As the period ended, expository preaching was heard more frequently than at the turn of the century, although the Lecture continued to be used as the opportunity for Biblical exposition.

THE BLESSING

The Blessing was pronounced at the end of the worship service. The Directory for Public Worship does not prescribe the form or the content to be used for this act of dismissing the congregation. Furthermore, sources available for a study of public worship in Scotland seldom mention this part of the order of corporate worship. The Scotch Minister's Assistant did not mention the Blessing. Perhaps the reason for this was that this early nineteenth century aid to public worship was primarily a book of prayers and that the Blessing was regarded as essentially a pronouncement of God's abiding presence rather than "an offering up of our desires unto God." George Burns presented only one form of Blessing together with one comment: "Divine Service may be regularly concluded with the following apostolic benediction. 'The grace of the Lord Jesus, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen.'"[151] In The Scottish Communion, Andrew G. Carstairs recorded three different forms

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[151]Burns, op. cit., p. 60.

used during the public worship services of the sacramental season.[152]

Thus the familiar words of Blessing concluded the act of public worship which, from beginning to dismissal, followed a familiar order. The common modes of corporate worship were steadfastly maintained during the period of this study. Minor attempts to change traditional practice were made in individual places. These did not stimulate significant movements to create changes in the modes of public worship. Within this uniformity in public worship, in which the sermon was central, certain parishes in Scotland had a season of religious revival.

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[152]Andrew G. Carstairs, The Scottish Communion, pp. 42, 71, 109, 208, 240, 293. The services of the sacramental season and the blessings used to conclude each one are as follows:

Fast Day -- Forenoon Saturday Sabbath -- Evening	"May grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with you, and with all the people of God, now, and for evermore. Amen."
Fast Day -- Afternoon	"May the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communion and fellowship of the blessed Spirit, remain with you all, now, and for ever. Amen."
Sabbath -- Forenoon	"May the love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the communion and fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, and with all the people of God, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen."

CHAPTER II

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN SCOTTISH PARISHES, 1796 - 1843

Sometime during every summer of the early years of the nineteenth century, an almost identical scene could be witnessed in every parish in Scotland. It was identified with a unique tradition which had developed universally in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland during the eighteenth century. A brief description of this scene not only provides the vivid setting for this traditional occasion, but more significantly contributes an insight into the variety of attitudes and expectations which prompted multitudes of Scotsmen to attend the most special of all religious gatherings whenever one was held within travelling distance from their homes. The following, then, is a panoramic view of the scene which emerged, sometimes out of all proportion, from religious life in Scotland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Most picturesque were those which took place at a rural parish.

The hard-packed country roads leading to the parish kirk were covered with a conflux of citizens travelling in a long procession. Carts, each containing a large family and a basket or two of provisions, jolted over the rough highway. While some individuals rode on horseback, it was equally common to view a husband and wife riding together on the only horse they owned. The remainder of the roadside contained a variety of pedestrian pilgrims who trampled over the stony highway at a continuous, monotonous pace. The multitude was characterised by its variety. Many classes of society were recognisable. All age

groups were represented in the throng. Many of the people were acquainted with one another to a varying degree because they were neighbours and members of the parish kirk to which they were proceeding. On the other hand, there was a sizable minority who were, except for such annual occasions, strangers. For the most part, they had come from neighbouring parishes. And very likely their own ministers also had made the journey to participate in the event. Therefore, embodied within the variety of persons was a diversity of motives and corresponding moods which prompted that assemblage to make that summer journey. For the pious, it was a solemn pilgrimage. For the children, it was a tiresome event which offered little opportunity for play or mischief. For the young and carefree, it was a time to meet friends and perhaps a time for courting. For servants and for many labourers, it was a holiday. When they were employed, they had obtained the stipulation that they would be permitted to attend a specific number of these occasions each year. This procession of hundreds and, not uncommonly, thousands of Scotsmen making their way to a comparatively small Presbyterian kirk furnishes the context for this study of the most special of all public worship services in the Reformed Churches of Scotland.

In the above description the term "occasion" has been used because that was the label which many people used when referring to this particular religious gathering. Some people used the expression "the fair" which was an idiom made famous in 1786 when Robert Burns described the event at Mauchline in a poem entitled "The Holy Fair." However, most frequently used was the proper nomenclature of the Church. Eccelsiastically, the special service was designated by such terms as "the Lord's Supper" or "the Sacrament." The writings of the period,

which were composed mainly by ministers, also use such phrases as "the dispensing of," or "the administration of," or "the celebration of the Lord's Supper." The actual Communion service together with other public worship services related to the Lord's Supper were collectively termed "the sacramental season."[1]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century one sacramental season was observed annually in each Presbyterian church. Exceptions to this practice were a very few churches in large towns and a number of other congregations primarily belonging to the Original Secession divisions which administered the Lord's Supper from two to four times each year.[2] Determined by each kirk session, the date of the celebration of the Lord's Supper varied from parish to parish. But the mode of observance was practically identical from kirk to kirk among all of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. This tradition had become established during the eighteenth century and had been universally maintained inspite of the secessions of that century. The only controversy of any magnitude regarding the mode of administering the Lord's Supper was the "Lifter" controversy which primarily took place within

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[1]James Begg, A Treatise on the Use of the Communion Table in Celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 6; John Dick, Lectures on Theology, Vol. I, pp. 238-240; John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, pp. 325-327; John Wilson, An Introduction to the Lord's Supper, pp. 61, 64; and others.

[2]John Brown, Discourses Suited to the Lord's Supper, p. vi. In the notes written in 1853 and added to the original preface, Brown wrote: "The practice of communicating twice a-year was introduced among the Seceders by my grandfather, the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, about the middle of last century, and gradually became universal among them." Brown also recorded that a few of the Established Churches by 1816 observed the Lord's Supper twice each year and that a few Presbyterian Churches "chiefly in large towns" communicated four times a-year.

the Anti-Burgher section of the Secession Church.[3] The conflict between "Lifters" and "Anti-lifters" took place from 1776 until 1784. In that latter year, the Anti-Burgher Synod upheld its decision of 1782 which declared that both opinions could be held and that mutual toleration should be exercised by both sides. In dismissing a petition to have the issue reviewed, the Synod of 1784 delivered an explanatory statement of the Anti-Burgher position. William McMillan has commented that this document "is probably the only one ever issued by a Church Court in Scotland on the ceremonial to be employed at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper."[4] Officially, this statement concluded the controversy. Nevertheless, the most radical voices among the "Lifters" continued to be heard into the nineteenth century. Several ministers and congregations of Anti-Burgher origin responded to the Synod decision by forming a Lifter Presbytery. This small body did not grow nor did it develop leadership within. Therefore, as its original leaders died, so did the respective congregations. Falkirk was the last organized Lifter congregation to be dissolved. This occurred in 1827. It must also be pointed out that there were Presbyterians in other branches of the Reformed Churches of Scotland who supported the Lifter cause. Well into the nineteenth century there were individuals who advocated the lifting of the elements for the prayer of consecration during the administration of the Lord's Supper. With the exception of this controversy, the mode of dispensing

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[3]This information has been taken from a well-documented article by William McMillan entitled "The Lifter Controversy" which may be found in the 1933-34 issue of The Annual of the Church Service Society, pp. 9-27.

[4]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

the Lord's Supper was essentially the same in all of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland.[5]

The actual preparations for the sacramental season began at an ordinary public worship service between one and two months prior to the date set for the occasion. The minister intimated from the pulpit the date of the celebration of the Lord's Supper and, as part of that announcement, gave a short discourse to the congregation "regarding the nature of the ordinance -- the weighty reasons which ought to lead them to join in its celebration -- and the conduct and feelings that ought to characterize those who propose to engage in such a service."[6] It had been the practice in the churches of the previous century to require all members to undergo an examination in religious knowledge in-order-to qualify for admission to the Lord's Table. Conducted by the minister and perhaps in the presence of the kirk session, the period of examination lasted from the date when the time of the Lord's Supper was intimated until the beginning of the sacramental season. A. Mitchell Hunter implied that this procedure continued in the nineteenth century. While discussing the practices of that century, he claimed that "all who sought admission to the table were expected to undergo an examination in religious knowledge. The minimum of knowledge required comprised the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. The examination of the

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[5]When the famous Burgher leader, John Brown, first published his volume, Discourses Suited to the Lord's Supper, in 1816, he referred in the Preface "to the manner in which the ordinance of the Lord's Supper is dispensed in the Scottish Presbyterian churches." p. vi. In 1853, when he added notes to the original Preface for the third edition of the work, Brown reflected that in 1816 the mode of administering the Lord's Supper was "all but universally followed in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland." p. vi.

[6]Andrew G. Carstairs, The Scottish Communion Service, p. viii.

membership was no light task and might occupy from two to six weeks."[7] As part of the first series of St. Giles' Lectures in 1881, Archibald Hamilton Charteris asserted that the diligent practice of catechising the entire parish "was usual at the beginning of the century."[8] The method to which he refers was that in which the parish was divided into districts or centres of visitation. "Every group of houses or district was the scene of a day of visitation, when the minister personally invited each household to meet him in an appointed central place -- a barn or farm-kitchen -- where not only the children but all adults who were willing to undergo the ordeal, were examined on the words and meaning of the Shorter Catechism."[9] Yet, inspite of such commentaries, evidence points to the fact that in the early years of the nineteenth century the system of examining and catechising the congregation was not so extensively practised as once it had. When John Smith of Campbelton published his Lectures in 1798, he was compelled to record that catechising "in many places it seems to be almost entirely given up; in others much on the decline."[10] The result observed by Smith was that "especially where this exercise has been, for any time, allowed to fall into disuse, that many will not submit

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[7] Records of the Scottish Church History Society, vol. IV, p. 52. A. Mitchell Hunter wrote a two-part study of "The Celebration of Communion in Scotland Since the Reformation." The quotation above was taken from Part II of that article. Part I was published in Vol. III of the Records of the SCH Society.

[8] The Scottish Church, p. 299. From Lecture X entitled "The Church of the Nineteenth Century to 1843" by A. H. Charteris.

[9] Ibid.

[10] John Smith, Lectures on the Nature and End of the Sacred Office, and on the Dignity, Duty, Qualifications, and Character of the Sacred Order, p. 239.

to it, and that more will not punctually attend it."[11] Principal Hill encouraged the continuance of the "ancient practice" because of the benefit derived by those who do attend. At the same time he confessed that "the progress of manners, and the general diffusion of knowledge, have rendered the exercise of catechising less interesting to the people than it was in former times."[12] Seeking to preserve this method by which ministers sought to fulfill their commission to instruct their people in Christian knowledge, Professor Gerrard suggested plans which would make the task less burdensome upon pastor and people.

> "Sometimes a minister may find it convenient to do this likewise, by assembling several families together in their own neighbourhood; but generally it is most convenient to call them to the church, or to his own house . . . The winter months, when they are little taken up with their business, will be generally found most convenient for this, and are for the most part chosen. It is sometimes, too, eligible to spend a part of Sunday afternoon in catechising, especially in the spring, immediately before the afternoon sermon be begun, and in autumn, immediately after it is given over. A great many can then attend without any interruption to their work, and receive at least, from hearing others examined, some instruction in the principles of religion."[13]

In the concluding paragraph on this subject, the Aberdeen Professor indicated the emphasis of the day. "The duty of catechising should be diligently practised, especially with regard to the young . . . if they do not learn them then, they will scarce ever learn them thoroughly."[14] By the commencement of the nineteenth century, the meetings of the minister with the families of the parish for the

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[11] Ibid., p. 241.

[12] George Hill, Theological Institutes, p. 397.

[13] Alexander Gerard, The Pastoral Care, pp. 218-219.

[14] Ibid., p. 222.

purpose of catechising or examining the members' worthiness to participate in the Sacrament were declining. Instead, it was becoming the practice for the kirk session to inspect privately the church roll to determine who should be admitted to the Lord's Table. The custom of examining persons before the sacramental season became concentrated upon young people who intended to commune for the first time. Lockhart noted that

> "before any young person is admitted to be a partaker in the Sacrament, it is necessary to undergo, in presence of the minister, a very strict examination touching all the doctrines of the Church; and, in particular, to be able to shew a thorough acquaintance with the Bible in all its parts. Now, the custom of the country requires that at a certain age the Sacrament should be taken, otherwise a very great loss of character must accrue to the delinquent; so that to prepare themselves by reading and attentive listening to what is said from the pulpit for undergoing this examination, forms universally a great point of ambition among the young peasants of both sexes."[15]

The only mention of any form of catechising by Andrew Carstairs was the following: "Those young people who intend to communicate for the first time are requested to wait upon the clergyman, for the purpose of undergoing a private examination, and receiving spiritual advice, before being admitted to communion."[16] James Russell, a child of the manse in the early 1800's who claimed that his father conformed to the custom of the day, recalled that the prospective communicants were invited to the manse on Tuesday or Wednesday preceeding the Communion Sabbath for their examination. "For their convenience," reminisced Dr. Russell, "no hour was fixed. They dropped in, accordingly, at any hour from the forenoon till night, and the same routine of

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[15]John Gibson Lockhart, Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk, vol. III, pp. 303-304.

[16]Carstairs, op. cit., p. viii.

examination and exhortation had to be gone through with each, so that before the two days were over my father was well-nigh exhausted."[17] Another son of the manse, James F. Leishman, preserved a record of his grandfather's mode of preparing young, prospective communicants in the late 1820's. "At Govan the course of instruction covered several months, written answers were expected, and all Eucharistic teaching was based upon the Church Catechisms, Larger and Shorter."[18] Hence, the method of preparing first-time communicants varied from parish to parish. And, with the trend being to devote all catechising efforts towards this particular group of the parish, the examination was a memorable experience for youth.

"I have often had reason to regret, that, amidst the many excellent Treatises which, under different forms and titles, have been published respecting the Lord's supper, I knew none which treat expressly of the general duties and obligations of communicants. They are almost all designed to serve, rather as guides to the Lord's table, than as guides to the Christian through the subsequent stages of his religious course."[19] Thus, in 1822, William Hamilton published The Young Communicant's Remembrancer to which was added the sub-title, "A Treatise, Intended at Once to Remind the Young Communicant of the Practical Obligations of Religion; and to Direct and Encourage Him Amidst the Duties and Difficulties of the Christian Life." In this work the Minister of Strathblane transcribed the content of religious instruction given by the conscientious minister to young people in

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[17] James Russell, Reminiscences of Yarrow, p. 148.

[18] James F. Leishman, Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843, p. 83.

[19] William Hamilton, The Young Communicant's Remembrancer, p. 5.

preparation for their admittance to the Lord's Table. According to Hamilton, "amongst the great mass of religious professors, the standard of Christian principle, and Christian practice, is infinitely too low."[20] With the de-emphasis upon the catechising of families, or more especially adults, and the prominence given to examining young, prospective communicants, ministers such as William Hamilton considered it their duty to give instruction beyond the rote learning of the catechisms, the creed, and certain passages of Scripture. Preparation for one's initial participation in the Lord's Supper was a kind of training period for Christian living. Therefore, during his private interviews with young communicants and in the small volume of The Young Communicant's Remembrancer, Hamilton set as his goal "to furnish you with a directory which may be of use to you in almost every situation in which you can be placed, and throughout the whole of your earthly existence."[21] In seeking to fulfill this comprehensive task, the author cautioned his readers against making the corporate activities and ordinances of the church ends in themselves. The Christian life was declared to be more than outward formalities, rituals, and moral habits. "If nothing more is necessary to constitute us christians, than the practice of the outward duties of religion and morality," proclaimed Hamilton, "then, with reverence be it spoken, the Lord Jesus Christ has come into our world upon an idle errand, his labours and his sufferings have all been sustained in vain, and the blessed ministry of the Holy Ghost is totally superfluous."[22] Christian living was set forth as total, personal dedication to a

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[20] Ibid., p. 6.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

"Perpetual covenant" with Jesus Christ. The conscious endeavour faithfully to devote inner resources to maintain an intimate covenant with the Lord was advanced as the means by which the difficulties and temptations accompanying the Christian life could be overcome, Christian duty could be performed, and Christian privileges be enjoyed. An example of the message and of the language used in this practical directory to Christian living may be seen in the following sentence: "Over the whole extent of the hostile field that lies before you, and the whole of that tremendous array of ridicule and scorn, of outrage and abuse, with which earth and hell have planted your path, cast the eye of meek but unshrinking intrepidity, and in the spirit and temper of his affectionate and devoted disciples, and in unqualified reliance upon his almighty aid, bid defiance to the whole, and say, 'Though all men should deny thee, yet will I never deny nor desert thee.'"[23] From even a brief investigation of the instruction given and the examination administered by ministers to intending communicants, it is little wonder than many young people found the weeks leading to the sacramental season an awesome and overwhelming time of life.

FAST DAY

The sacramental season formally began on the Thursday preceeding the Communion Sabbath. That day was designated as a time for fasting and humiliation. The "day of Fast" was a Scottish institution which had become common sometime after 1651. Neither prescribed in Scripture nor by the Early Church, and never enacted by the General Assembly as a required observance, the Fast Day was solemnly kept for over a century as a second Sunday with public worship services held in the

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[23] Ibid., p. 38.

morning and again in the afternoon. Wodrow observed during the summer of 1729 that there was "somewhat like a spirit of prayer and wrestling on our fast days before our communions."[24] So securely established was the custom that when the Synod of Argyle considered methods of reducing the services of the sacramental season in the mid-eighteenth century, it approved the discontinuing of services on Saturday and Monday rather than suspend the observance of the Fast Day.[25] In spite of the fact that some commentators claimed that the Fast Day was becoming more of a holiday than a holy day,[26] the custom continued well into the nineteenth century. Ministers, such as Andrew Carstairs, justified its perpetuation by pointing out the need for a special time of preparation for the Sacrament. "We may be convinced of the wisdom of appointing seasons, when, all worldly occupations being

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[24]Thomas M'Crie (ed.), The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, vol. III, p. 452.

[25]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1746-1768, "Index or Abridgment of the Actings and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, held in the Year 1757," p. 25. "A Petition of the Elders and others of the Lowland Congregation of Campbeltoun, and Parish of Southend, complaining of two Acts past by the Synod of Argyle, taking away the Use of Sermons on the Saturday before and Monday after dispensing of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and resolving to proceed against those who, after Admonition, continue refractory, or follow divisive Courses, according to the Rules of the Church, brought in and read.--The Conduct of the said Synod, so far as they discontinue the Sermons on Saturday and Monday, in order to have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper more frequently and decently administred within their Bounds, unanimously approven of; but that Part of their Act inforcing the same by a Sanction not affirmed.--And a Recommendation to all concerned to study Peace and Harmony, and to the People in the Bounds of the said Synod to give regular Attendance on Ordinances dispensed by their Ministers."

[26]Andrew Edgar, Old Church Life in Scotland, Vol. I, p. 130. Edgar claimed that, by the end of the eighteenth century, Fast Days "came to be spent not in humiliation, but in gaiety -- not in prayer, but in the pursuit of worldly pleasure -- not in sobriety, but with a good deal of public drunkenness -- not in the house of God, but as far from it as possible . . ."

thrown aside, the mind may, without distraction, examine itself in the presence of its Maker. The Thursday immediately preceeding the Communion Sabbath, is accordingly held as a solemn fast, on which there is public worship; and all ordinary business is suspended."[27] Lockhart testified that the day of fasting and humiliation was still solemnly kept "by not a few of the more elderly and strict of the good people. By all it is observed with a measure of solemnity, at least equal to that which usually characterises a Scottish Sabbath."[28]

The most complete primary source of the order and content of the Fast Day worship and all other public services of the sacramental season as observed during the first half of the nineteenth century is The Scottish Communion Service by Andrew George Carstairs. This work was published in 1829 while Carstairs was serving his twenty-fourth year as the minister at Anstruther Wester. Avowed by the author to be a "specimen" of the services which constitute the sacramental season in the Church of Scotland, the volume contains the complete content of each worship service plus an occasional comment regarding the mode used in conducting these special services. Other writings of this period furnish partial information about the services of the sacramental season. These sources lend support to the authenticity of the specimens provided by The Scottish Communion Service. Together they furnish further evidence of the fact that the sacramental season was almost identically observed throughout the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland.

There were two worship services on the Fast Day -- the first in the morning and the second during the afternoon. The same order of

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[27]Carstairs, op. cit., p. ix.

[28]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 305.

worship used at both of these services was as follows: Psalm, Prayer, Sermon, Prayer, Psalm or Paraphrase, Blessing. The morning service was conducted by the minister of the parish. He was usually assisted by a guest minister who might even deliver the sermon. But always the opening psalm and the first prayer were led by the host preacher who was "more fitted than a stranger to call to remembrance and confess the particular sins with which he himself and his people were chargeable."[29] The single theme of the service was repentance. This emphasis was clearly expressed in the following supplication from the morning prayer composed by Dr. Carstairs: ". . . may this day of humiliation be such a fast as thou hast chosen; may it be to all of us a day, not only of mourning over our transgressions, but of turning away from them for ever."[30] This theme is particularly evident in the two prayers contained in The Scotch Minister's Assistant under the heading, "Prayers, for a Fast Day, in Time of War." Repentance is even a dominant note in the prayer assigned to be given after the Fast Day sermon. For example, when intercession is made for the church and nation, Robertson's devotion reads: "Iniquity abounds and the love of many waxes cold, both towards God and man. We desire more particularly to be deeply humbled under a sense of our own transgressions: and as we have each of us our share in the national guilt, grant that we may each of us contribute our part towards a national repentance and reformation."[31] The forenoon Fast Day sermon by Carstairs was a warning to worshippers of the danger involved in delaying repentance. The conclusion of the discourse exhorted each

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[29]Russell, op. cit., p. 149.

[30]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 9.

[31]Harry Robertson, The Scotch Minister's Assistant, p. 225.

listener to examine his own involvement in the universal depravity of mankind; invited him to repent; and assured him of the offer of atonement. The prayer after the sermon, which included a period of general intercession, continued to advance the theme of repentance leading to the dedication of life to Jesus Christ. Appropriately the final Paraphrase was xl.7, which contains a portion of the narration of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. The service was dismissed by the pronouncement of the Blessing.

The afternoon Fast Day service was customarily conducted by one of the guest ministers who had been invited to participate in the sacramental season. Hopefully this preacher further developed the Fast Day theme of directing the congregation to acknowledge their sin-filled condition and turn to Jesus Christ. The service contained in The Scottish Communion Service began with the lining out of Psalm 145:8-14 and with the first prayer. Both of these introduced the subject of the graciousness of Jesus' sacrifice in behalf of man's sin. The sermon text was Matthew 11:28 -- "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The thesis of the discourse was that because of Christ's love to us, we should show our gratitude to him by "coming unto Christ." The sermon was summarized in the conclusion by this invitation: "Bowed down by the natural ills of life, you can only find rest by coming to Christ."[32] Like the prayers of the morning service and the first devotion of the afternoon worship, the prayer following the sermon contained a section of confession and repentance. The section devoted to intercession was only a very brief summary of the morning service. Then the prayer concluded as it began with supplication for renewal and with a plea

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[32]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 64.

for God's blessing to follow the worship services of that day. Fittingly, the closing paraphrase commenced with the words: "Come then to me, all ye that groan . . ." Fast Day worship was then dismissed by the pronouncement of the Blessing: "May the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communion and Fellowship of the blessed Spirit, remain with you all, now, and for ever. Amen."[33]

BLANK FRIDAY

The Friday preceeding Communion was a day of self-examination. Usually there were no public worship services on that day. None of the sources containing details of the order and content of the sacramental season services make mention of any public gatherings on Friday. Even into the middle of the nineteenth century one observer simply testified that "Friday was a blank day."[34] There were exceptions to that generalisation in some parishes. William Milroy noted that, during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, there was "on Friday, one sermon or a prayer meeting, or both, -- for the strangers."[35] Although there were no public worship services on Friday in the Highlands, George MacCulloch has described an "exercise of a kind peculiar to the Highlands" which was practiced near the end of this period of study and which was carried over into the latter half of the century. Called the "Day of the Men," this Friday noon gathering around the tent was a kind of panel discussion presided

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[33] Ibid., p. 71.

[34] "Communion Customs," Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, Vol. XI, Part II, p. 136. (Author is anonymous).

[35] William Milroy, A Scottish Communion, p. xvi.

over by the local minister. A question or questions were posed by one of the "fathers or brethren." The minister and several selected "Men" each spoke to the question. The minister then concluded the meeting by summarising the views and applying them to the congregation's self-examination prior to coming to the Lord's Supper.[36]

DAY OF PREPARATION

Saturday was called "the day of preparation." Having been established by custom during the latter years of the sixteenth century, the "Preparation Sermon" had been officially sanctioned by the General Assembly of 1645.[37] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, many churches included two sermons in their Saturday service. In fact, Brown observed that "two or three sermons were preached on the Saturday."[38] The usual policy in country parishes was noted in one of Lockart's "letters" when he wrote: "On Saturday again the church-doors are thrown open, and two more sermons are addressed to the people, the strain of which, in compliance with custom equally ancient and venerable, is of a more cheering and consolatory nature" [than Thursday's discourses].[39] Russell also referred to the practice of having two sermons on Saturday[40] as did William Milroy. Milroy's book, A Scottish Communion, which presented the observance of the

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[36]George MacCulloch, A Highland Sacrament, pp. 11-14.

[37]Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, p. 120. "That there be one sermon of preparation delivered in the ordinary place of publick worship upon the day immediately preceding." --Act Sess. 14, February 7, 1645, Article 3, Statement No. 7.

[38]Brown, op. cit., p. vii.

[39]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 305.

[40]Russell, op. cit., p. 149.

Sacrament as it was practiced during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, also referred to the customs of the first thirty years in the preface, claiming that there were two sermons each on Thursday, Saturday, and Monday.[41] Milroy went on to observe that soon after 1830 the services associated with Communion became shortened to "two sermons on Thursday, one on Saturday, and one on Monday."[42] However, this change was already present in churches before 1830. Carstairs' sample of a typical Saturday service included but one sermon.

The order of worship on Saturday was the same as those used for the services on the Fast Day. The two prayers at this preparation service were noticeably longer than those of the previous Thursday. The first prayer contained adoration, thanksgiving, confession, and supplication. The major portion of this period of devotion was the section on expressing thanks to God for the goodness and the grace of Jesus Christ. The sermon which Carstairs published for this worship was based upon the text, Romans 14:17. This discourse was introduced by proposing that the kingdom of heaven is a state of light, truth, and salvation. Two main points were developed in the body of the sermon: (1) the kingdom does not consist in external forms of religion; and (2) the kingdom does consist of a surrendered heart which experiences righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. The conclusion of the meditation was an exhortation to all anticipating communicants to examine the nature of the religion which they were bringing to the Lord's Table to discern whether it was meat and drink or righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit.

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[41] William Milroy, op. cit., p. xvi.

[42] Ibid., p. xxi.

The prayer after the sermon began by praising God for the good gifts He has bestowed upon humanity. Supplication was then submitted for those kingdom-like characteristics specified in the sermon. The remaining half of the prayer was intercession. Remembered were: the Church of Scotland, the preparation of the people for Communion (which included a warning to those who would deny Christ at that occasion), the fearful, the young, the experienced, the country, the king and those in authority, the sick, the afflicted, and the dying. Paraphrase xliii was sung and the guest minister, who had conducted this service, pronounced the Blessing.

At the close of corporate worship on Saturday, the host minister and the elders assembled in front of the pulpit to distribute the Communion tokens. With the exception of the Relief Church, there was no open table in the Presbyterian Churches during this period. Everyone was required to present a token of admission to the Lord's Table. Visitors from other parishes brought either a token from their own kirk or a certificate from their session to prove that they were worthy of being admitted to the Sacrament. Large congregations whose attendance necessitated numerous sittings at the Communion Table were beginning the practice of stamping a number on the back of each token to inform the holder of which sitting he should attend. After the tokens had been distributed, a prayer and possibly a short discourse was delivered by the minister to conclude this final act of preparation by the intending communicants. Matthew Leishman revealed how serious this event was regarded by many pastors and their sessions. "'My usual practice is,'" he once wrote, "'to meet with all my young communicants after the Saturday service, and put Tokens into their hands myself, with an address and prayer. I should think it a very

bad sign of fitness for the ordinance were any not present.'"[43] On the other hand, tokens were given out in some parishes without ceremony. There were kirks which followed their established customs of the previous century by having the session meet after the Fast Day service to receive tokens which they distributed to their respective districts. Brown commented that it was on the Fast Day "when the tokens of admission to the Lord's table were distributed."[44] Hunter's research revealed still another custom in certain churches: "The sacramental season was reckoned as beginning from the previous Sunday when the tokens were distributed, the young communicants receiving them on the following Thursday, and strangers on Saturday."[45] Whatever the method, Communion tokens were universally used in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century.[46]

COMMUNION SABBATH

All preparations having been completed conscientiously and according to custom, the "great day of the feast" dawned. Early Communion Sabbath morning people began to arrive at the kirk yard from all parts of the parish and from adjoining parishes miles away. Soon the sanctuary of the church was filled to capacity leaving many people standing outside or sitting on near-by grave stones. Everyone from the elders of the church to the proprietors of the local alehouses sought to provide accommodations for the overflow crowd. The

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[43] Leishman, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

[44] Brown, op. cit., p. vii.

[45] Records of the SCH Society, op. cit., p. 58.

[46] For a more complete account of this custom, see R. Kerr and J.R. Lockie, Communion Tokens of the Church of Scotland: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pp. 50-56.

session had erected a portable pulpit in one area of the churchyard or in an adjacent field. Resembling a wooden sentry-box with a canopy roof, this temporary edifice was called the Tent. From its platform, the guest ministers, who were assisting the local minister, preached throughout the day to the mingling congregation. Other provisions for the masses were made in and about the manse. Russell vividly recalled that "refreshments of bread and cheese and milk were provided in the kitchen of the manse for all comers of the people generally; a bowl put in the 'minister's well' for those who liked a cooling draught of spring water; bread and ale in the barn, furnished by some of the publicans of the parish . . .; and refreshments in the dining-room and parlour of the manse for the farmers and their families."[47] In some cases the local inn was open for business. The number of customers received by the innkeeper was dependent upon the ability of the tent preachers to retain their listeners.[48] There were still other occasions when "baps of bread" and barrels of ale were stationed along the churchyard wall or hedge. All day long there was an oscillation between the tent and these refreshment stands. "When a popular preacher mounted the rostrum, the people all flocked to the tent; when a wauf hand turned up, the tide was all the other way -- the tent was deserted, and the baps and barrels carried the day."[49] Therefore, as the Sacrament was solemnly celebrated within the church building,

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[47]Russell, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

[48]Thomas Smith, Memoirs of James Begg, D.D., p. 19. Begg related that on one occasion a certain village inn-keeper became quite anxious because his hostelry was empty. "Seeing one stray man approaching from the preaching ground, he eagerly asked, 'Are they no moving yet?' To which the reply was, 'Mr. Bower has ta'en the tent, and they'll no be moving for an hour yet.'"

[49]Russell, op. cit., p. 7.

the celebration without was of a more festive appearance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Sabbath scene at the annual occasion provided ample evidence to support the fact that Burns' famous poem was not a misrepresentation of the activities of the day, although perhaps the presence of true devotion was somewhat overshadowed by the more obvious outdoor activities. In the third volume of Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk, this eye-witness description was given of a Communion Sabbath churchyard scene:

> "Out of doors, in the meantime, there was carried on, in all the alehouses of the village, and in many of the neighbouring fields, a scene of a very different nature. After sitting for an hour or two, I walked out to breathe the fresh air, and in passing through the place, was quite scandalized to find such a deal of racketting and mirth going on so near the celebration of such a ceremony, regarded and conducted by those engaged in it with a feeling of reverence so profound and exemplary. Here, indeed, I doubt not, might not a little of what Burns has described be found going on among the thoughtless and unworthy idlers, who had flocked from every part of the surrounding country to be present at the sacrament."[50]

Leaving the view of that outdoor phenomenon, it is necessary to make a detailed examination of the ceremony in which the Lord's Supper was dispensed.

Church sanctuaries in Scotland were constructed to allow a long table to be placed in front of the pulpit for the dispensing of the Lord's Supper. Originally, these places of worship contained no seats at all. Then, during the eighteenth century moveable pews began to be installed in churches and the practice of charging seat-rents was established. By the nineteenth century, most churches were equipped with pews and in some quarters there were proposals made that fixed pews be installed in new and renovated church buildings. As

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[50]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 320.

permanent seats began to be placed in churches, methods were devised to retain the coveted custom of setting up the Communion Table for the administration of the Sacrament. For example, when a new church was constructed at Govan in 1826, pews were installed which could be "converted into veritable tables, around which the communicants sat face to face, a position to which great importance was attached. There were three such tables, ranged transversely in front of the pulpit, -- each table had room for thirty-two persons."[51] Ever since the Reformation, Presbyterian communicants in Scotland had received the Sacrament while seated at the Table. Hence, upon entering a Scottish kirk on Communion Sabbath during the early years of the nineteenth century, one would immediately notice the arrangement of the Table, which would be either completely bare or else covered with a plain, white cloth.

Public worship on the Communion Sabbath often began at an earlier hour than usual. At that appointed time, the host minister and his assisting preachers were led into the kirk by the beadle. Just prior to this procession's arrival at the entrance to the church, one of the guest ministers left the group to proceed to the Tent where he was to begin the outdoor preaching at the same time the service commenced in the sanctuary. The forenoon service in the church followed an almost identical order for worship in all of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. While a number of sources give a general outline of this order, very few have recorded the complete order which was followed. Even fewer writings have preserved the complete content of a Communion service during this early period of the nineteenth century. However, in 1829, two individual ministers published the

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[51]Leishman, op. cit., p. 86.

entire order and content of Communion worship as conducted by them in their parishes. One was the work by Dr. Carstairs, The Scottish Communion Service. The other was contained in a volume entitled, Sermons and a Communion Service, which was edited from the papers of the Reverend James Simmie. Ordained and presented to Rothiemay in 1791, Simmie (1765-1826) spent his entire ministry in that country parish in the Presbytery of Strathbogie. A listing of the orders of worship from these two sources will illustrate how similar was the procedure followed in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland at that time.

Anstruther Wester	Rothiemay
Psalm	Psalm
Prayer	Prayer
Sermon	First Sermon
Lord's Prayer	Fencing of the Tables
Paraphrase	Psalm
Fencing of the Tables	Words of Institution
Paraphrase	Prayer of Consecration
Prayer of Consecration	First Table:
First Table:	Address Before Communion
Address Before Communion	Distribution of Elements
Words of Institution	Address After Communion
Distribution of Elements	Psalm
Address After Communion	Other Table Services (each followed by singing two to four verses of the same psalm)
Paraphrase	Concluding Address
Other Table Services (each followed by singing one or two verses of the same paraphrase)	Prayer
Concluding Address	Second Sermon
Prayer	Paraphrase
Psalm	Afternoon Service
Blessing	Prayer
	Paraphrase
	Benediction

The first sermon was called the "Action Sermon" to distinguish it from the other discourses of the sacramental season. Generally, the purpose of the action sermon was to exhort worshippers to direct their thoughts upon their personal relationship to God through the

grace of Christ and to invite the people to commune with the Lord. Dr. Carstairs' action sermon, the text of which was Luke 22:33, examined the basis for our attachment to Jesus and challenged communicants to witness to their attachment to the Saviour. The action to which the congregation was called was clearly projected in these selected sentences from the conclusion of the discourse: "Let us evince the strength of our affection to our Saviour, by paying a due regard to the outward institutions of his religion. . . . Let us with unfeigned joy, join at times in the more solemn acts of worship. Let it be our delight (as it is this day our intention) to sit down at the table of the Lord. . . . And, returning to the world, let our whole conduct in that world bear witness, that our love to him is ardent and sincere . . ."[52] Dr. Simmie's action sermon, which was over 4,000 words in length, selected I Peter 1:8 for the text -- "Whom having not seen, ye love." The first half of the homily examined the character of Christ to reveal the reasons upon which is based the Christian's love for Jesus. As the most perfect character who ever lived, as the Son of God, and as the Mediator between God and man, the minister of Rothiemay proclaimed that Christ's love for a detestful humanity brought a salvation which consists "of mercy to pardon, and grace to help us in the time of need, but also of immortal happiness."[53] The second half of the sermon petitioned the listeners to examine their consciences, their motives in coming to the Lord's table, and the conformity of their lives to the life of Christ as the tests to determine whether their love of the Saviour is sincere. This action sermon provided the appropriate setting for the succeeding

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[52]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 141.

[53]James Simmie, Sermons and a Communion Service, p. 344.

address which was for the purpose of "fencing the tables." A third example of the content of the action sermon may be found in the 1813 publication of Sermons by William Moodie (1759-1812). [54] Included in the collection of twenty-four sermons by the former Moderator of the 1799 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland are several which were preached at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. One of these, entitled "On the Benevolence of Christ," emphasised four characteristics of the love of Jesus. The central points were that the love of Jesus was disinterested, universal, an active principle, and a persevering virtue. The format of the sermon was identical for each of the four sections of the discourse. After expounding upon a characteristic of Christ's love, the preacher would ask: "Was there ever benevolence so perfect as this?" Then followed a few pointed comments intended to motivate a self-examination by each worshipper of his own benevolence to determine his worthiness to be called a follower of Jesus. Each division was concluded with an exhortation to communicants to contemplate upon the sacred character of Jesus "till that love which passeth knowledge obtain entire possession of your souls."[55] Another Moodie action sermon was designated with this interesting heading, "On the Means by Which Religious Emotions are Excited." In this discourse the Edinburgh professor-preacher distinguished between the "transient feelings" of a single act of devotion

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[54]William Moodie, who was educated at St. Andrews and Edinburgh, was licensed to preach in 1781. From 1783-1787, he was minister in Kircaldy. He translated to St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in 1787. In addition to his pastoral position, he accepted the appointment to the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh in 1793. He served as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1799. Following a long period of ill-health, he died 11th June, 1812.

[55]William Moodie, Sermons, pp. 49, 53, 57, 61.

and "the sentiment of piety" which is the product of continuous, private meditation. The former emotions may reprove the sinner, but they vanish before he can be reformed. On the other hand, advocated Dr. Moodie, "the piety of which he [God] approves, is a steady, uniform principle. It follows its possessor from the closet and the temple, to the scenes of his ordinary business, and directs and animates his conduct in all his intercourse with mankind. It is this steady piety alone, that can either promote your future happiness, or minister to your present comfort."[56] Hence, the action solicited at the Lord's table was that of quiet, controlled, private meditation. A final illustration of the content of the action sermon is from Samuel Charters, who was described as "a noble specimen of an ecclesiastic of the ancient days, whose chief pleasure was to instruct and elevate the mind of his hearers."[57] The minister of Wilton included one discourse before the Lord's Supper in a volume entitled Sermons and Meditations. The text was taken from the words of institution -- I Corinthians 11:26. The purpose of the sermon was to direct the people to reflect upon the aim and the efficacy of Christ's death and then to motivate intending communicants to come to the Lord's table in confirmation of their acceptance of the New Covenant offered by Jesus. The main points of the sermon were:

(1) The Lord died for us;

(2) Christ died for the sins of the world;

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[56] Ibid., p. 145.

[57] Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, vol. II, pp. 143-144. Samuel Charters (1742-1825) was educated at the University of Glasgow and licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Ordained in 1769, he became the minister of Wilton in 1772 where he served until his death. He was twice honored by the University of Glasgow; once he was offered the Chair of Moral Philosophy, which he declined; and, in 1789, he was given the D.D. degree, which he accepted.

(3) The remission, or forgiveness of sin, is ascribed to the Lord's death;

(4) Christ suffered that he might sanctify the people; and

(5) The Lord's death is represented as the confirmation of a covenant.

These examples of action sermons illustrated the aim of these discourses. The action sermon proposed thoughts upon which intending communicants should meditate; and, with their need for Christ stimulated by this meditation and self-examination, believers were entreatied to commune at the Lord's table.

In the early days of the Reformation in Scotland specific precautions were taken to prevent those who were unworthy from taking a place at the Communion table. In those days of earthen floor sanctuaries containing no seats or pews, the Lord's table consisted of "daillis" or wooden planks placed upon supports and then covered with a white cloth. To keep the congregation back from the table and, more especially, to prohibit unwarranted persons from participating in a table service, a "traviss" or paling was erected around the tables. Thomas Burns has attested that "in some records the 'fence' is referred to as 'flakettis' (flakes), such as are used by farmers in their fields, for confining sheep or cattle to a restricted area for feeding on green crops."[58] Communicants entered the Communion area by either of two doors or gates in the fences which surrounded the tables. An elder was stationed at each gate to impede any one from passing through to a place at the table who did not possess a valid "pledge of admission", i.e. Communion token, to receive the Sacrament. Dr. Burns documented the fact that "the table was so strictly fenced that even those members who possessed tokens, unless

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[58]"Life and Work," vol. XLVI, 1924, p. 270.

they had been present in church during the usual preliminaries of exhortation, praise, and prayer, were excluded."[59] This sixteenth century development was the origin of the "fencing of the tables." However, by the nineteenth century, the actual fences were disappearing from use and the phrase, "fencing of the tables," had come to refer to an address from the pulpit in which the preacher expounded "on the characters of those who may, and of those who may not, observe the Lord's Supper; with an invitation of the former to the Lord's table, and a solemn debarring of the latter from it."[60] The aim of this address and the content of the typical action sermon were so complementary that both discourses practically served the same function. Leishman sought to distinguish one from the other by this clarification: "After the Action sermon came the Fencing of the Tables -- the former being an invitation, the latter a deterrent, meant for those who were consciously 'unworthy.'"[61] Nevertheless, an investigation of the content of various "fencing of the table" addresses reveals that Leishman's specific line of demarcation was not strictly observed. Frequently, the address employed for "fencing the tables" might well be regarded as a compact action sermon. One of the notable characteristics of this final address from the pulpit before the Sacrament was administered was that Scriptural language was often utilized and some ministers even included the reading of selected passages of Scripture in their brief declaration. Dr. Carstairs interspersed the following readings into his "Address from the Pulpit before Communion": I Corinthians 11:23, Exodus 20:3-17, and

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[59] Ibid., p. 271.

[60] Brown, op. cit., p. vii.

[61] Leishman, op. cit., p. 86.

Matthew 5:3-11.[62] In one of John Brown's "Introductory Addresses, or 'Fencing of the Table,'" he directed his listeners to several particular passages -- Psalm 15, Matthew 5:3-9, and Galatians 5:19-24.[63] It is not clear whether he read these selections in his address or merely referred to them. The address for the "fencing of the tables" composed by Dr. Simmie contained the usual form and content of these discourses.[64] It began and ended with a quotation or a paraphrase of Scripture. The first half of the content consisted of a listing of those characteristics which exclude a person from approaching the Lord's table. The second half enumerated those qualities which make an individual acceptable to the Lord's table. Though this may be considered typical of the addresses for the "fencing of the tables," it was not the universal pattern followed by Presbyterian ministers in Scotland. The Scotch Minister's Assistant incorporated a collection of six discourses for "Fencing Communion Tables." These addresses concentrated upon various aspects of the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus. These views of the ordinance were very briefly expounded for the purpose of stimulating and directing the private meditation of the worshippers. It was almost a silent assumption that by reflecting upon the ordinance itself the individual would apply the message to his own spiritual condition and thereby arrive at the conclusion as to whether he was eligible or ineligible to partake of the Sacrament. In one of the addresses Robertson did, in fact,

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[62]Carstairs, op. cit., pp. 144-149.

[63]Brown, op. cit., p. 192. ". . . I conclude with directing you to a few passages of Scripture, in which the character of saints and sinners are very plainly delineated.--Psal. xv; Matth. v.3-9; Gal. v.19-24."

[64]See Appendix A.

intimate that this was the process which the discourse was intended to initiate. "What are the qualifications of worthy communicants, and who are debarred from this table? This will appear, if we consider some of the chief ends of this sacred institution."[65] Each of the six addresses conveyed the desire to invite the people to the Lord's table rather than presenting a deterrent against the undeserving participating in the Lord's Supper. For example, the second of these specimens of discourses for the "fencing of the table" not only emphasised Christ's invitation to participate in the Sacrament, but presented the observance as the duty of all who acknowledge Christ's "undeserved goodness to us. . . . If we reflect upon the circumstances in which our blessed Redeemer appointed this solemn ordinance, we must feel ourselves under strong obligations to comply with his dying request."[66] So much was the mind of the preacher upon the aim of inviting and leading the worshippers to the Lord's table that discourse VI had nothing to do with challenging the listener to consider whether he should approach the Communion table. Instead the address was to give proper content to the communicant's reflections when he "kept the feast." Upon this occasion the congregation was encouraged to enter the solemn service of the Lord's Supper with gratitude to God for delivering them from "that corrupt, superstitious and dangerous form of christianity, which we call popery."[67] Therefore, in that homily, Robertson discerned the differences in observing the Lord's Supper between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Church, rather than to distinguish between worthy and unworthy Presbyterian candidates for a

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[65]Robertson, op. cit., p. 80.

[66]Ibid., p. 67.

[67]Ibid., p. 92.

place at the Communion table. The addresses for the "fencing of the table" compiled in The Scotch Minister's Assistant revealed a variety of functions and content for which this discourse was utilized. Still another variation in the format for this address has been preserved in the previously referred to volume by Samuel Charters. The single example which he has recorded is uncommonly short, being only 230 words in length.[68] Of all the sacramental addresses examined in this period, this particular exhortation was the only one which was noticeably similar in content to the invitations to the Lord's Supper which are used in Reformed Churches at the present time. The simple heading, "Invitation," plainly revealed the nature and aim of this exhortation. Nothing was stated about any one being debarred from the Sacrament. The address began by quoting Revelation 22:17, and then proceeded to emphasise from that text the phrase "whosoever will." "Whosoever will let him take of the water of life freely." The preacher went on to list certain groups of people who were invited to the Lord's table. "Whosoever is willing to be the disciple of Christ, to be guided by his Spirit, and to walk in love. . . . Come, all ye who love the Lord Jesus; . . . The young are called . . . Let old disciples come . . . Let the sons and daughters of affliction come, . . . Let the child of sorrow, . . . Come, ye who have trouble which your own hearts only know; . . . Let humble penitents draw near, and take hold of the covenant. Come all ye who feel this world a weary wilderness . . ."[69] The call to commune ended with a corporate answer to the invitation

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[68]The addresses in The Scotch Minister's Assistant ranged from 366 to 924 words; the two discourses by John Brown were of 1,611 and 1,764 words; Carstairs' address for the "fencing of the table" was 990 words; and the example by Simmie was 894 words.

[69]Samuel Charters, Sermons and Meditations, pp. 77-79.

given by the text. "We will go into his tabernacle, and bow at his footstool, and with joy draw water from the wells of salvation."[70] Certainly discourses such as that of Charters were exceptions to the accepted form and content of addresses composed for the "fencing of the table." The majority of ministers would have disagreed with Charters' use of Revelation 22:17 to make such a sweeping invitation to the Lord's Supper. For the general conviction repeatedly made plain in those addresses was that the Sacrament was not intended for whosoever is willing to be the disciple of Christ, but only for whosoever is a disciple of Christ. Professor Brown commented upon the same text in one of his addresses for "fencing the table."

> "We are called to proclaim the good news to every creature, and to invite 'whosoever will, to take of the water of life freely.' There are no reserves in our commission, and we wish to make none.--The invitation to the table of Jesus is, however, by no means so extensive. In receiving the Lord's Supper, men are considered not merely as sinners, but as believing and penitent sinners; not merely as persons who may and ought to come to Christ, but as persons who have actually come to him. The Divine Master of the feast, who, in the former case, proclaims--'Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come, buy and eat, without money and without price;' in the latter case, confines his invitation to persons of a particular character--'Eat, O friends, drink, yea drink abundantly, O beloved!'"[71]

This was not only the underlying conviction proclaimed in these discourses, but it was an important article of belief taught to those preparing for their first communion. Hamilton expected young communicants to remember that the Lord's Supper "is a feast provided for them who are in Christ; who live on him by faith, and walk even

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[70] Ibid., p. 80.

[71] Brown, op. cit., p. 187.

as he also walked."[72] When Dr. Carstairs selected an address which could serve as a specimen of those used for the "fencing of the table" in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, he chose one which most precisely expressed the conviction of the Church regarding the qualifications necessary for admittance to the Lord's table. In that address, he declared: "None but his disciples were requested by Jesus thus to remember him; and the apostle declares, that he who eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; that he eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. It is necessary, therefore, to place a fence around the table of the Lord."[73] In the early years of the nineteenth century, that "fence" was primarily thought of as an address delivered from the pulpit by the preacher just before he descended to make the final preparations and to dispense the Sacrament. Though it showed some variation in form and content, this solemn discourse directed each worshipper to undergo a strict self-examination, and, on the basis of that reflection, to make a personal decision as to his own worthiness to participate in the Lord's Supper. The "fencing of the table" did have an affect. In some parishes, most notably in the Highlands, people were known to attend the sacramental season but to abstain from going to the Lord's table lest they drink judgment upon themselves.[74]

According to the instructions given for the order of worship preserved by Andrew Carstairs, the elders brought the Communion

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[72]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 59.

[73]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 145.

[74]MacCulloch, op. cit., p. 15. (See also Alexander MacPherson, Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands in Olden Times, p. 38; Alexander Turner, The Scottish Secession of 1843, pp. 182-183; Minutes of the Synod of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, 11th April, 1967, pp. 33-35.)

elements into the church and placed them on the Lord's table during the singing of the praise which preceeded the "fencing of the table." It was an alternative custom for the bread and wine to be carried into the sanctuary during the praise which was sung after the "fencing of the table." When the latter practice was followed, some ministers descended from the pulpit and joined in the ceremony of bringing the elements to the table. Leishman recalled this ritual as being comparable to the Great Entrance of the Eastern Church, describing it thus: "While the Sacramental Paraphrase was being sung, the ministers and elders retired to the vestry, from which they returned before the singing was done, the Minister heading the procession, and the elders, a long train of grey-headed ancients for the most part, bearing the sacred vessels and elements."[75] Either by taking part in the entrance of the bread and wine, or by simply descending from the pulpit directly, the minister took his place at the head of the Communion table during the singing which followed the "fencing of the table." At the same time, the first sitting of communicants took their places about the table. As they entered the table area, their tokens were collected from them by the elders who were stationed there.

In Carstairs' Communion service, the Words of Institution had been read during the "fencing of the table." Lockhart also gave evidence that this was the order used in the country parish which he visited. However, this was again an instance of there being an equally common practice which was slightly different. Professor Brown and Dr. Simmie registered the fact that the Words of Institution were read after the "fencing of the table" and after the minister had taken

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[75]Leishman, op. cit., p. 86.

his place at the Communion table. Wherever it came in the service, it was a necessary act which declared the minister's warrant for dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

At this point in the worship service it was the universal custom in Presbyterian Churches for the minister to offer the Prayer of Consecration -- or, as Lockhart portrayed it, "he then craved a blessing."[76] This devotion was sometimes preceeded by a brief preface. Prior to the Consecration Prayer, Dr. Carstairs made the following remarks: "We read, my brethren, that the Lord Jesus, when met with his disciples to eat the passover for the last time, took bread, and that before he brake it he gave thanks:--Let us, after his example, and in his name, give thanks to our heavenly Father."[77] Dr. Simmie's ascription provided a transition between the Words of Institution and the Prayer of Consecration. His comments were:

> "Such is our authority, Christians, for showing forth, by this ordinance, the death of our Lord and Saviour. 'This do ye,' said he, 'in remembrance of me, '--a commandment addressed to us, as well as to his followers at that time. Indeed, there was no reason requiring them to show forth the death of Christ, which is not equally applicable to his followers in all ages and nations: for, as he died for us, as well as for them, the duties thence incumbent on them must be incumbent on us also. Here we are informed that our Lord, when he instituted this ordinance, gave thanks. In this, therefore, let us follow his example."[78]

The result of the Lifter controversy left ministers free to decide for themselves whether they would use any physical gesture in connection with this particular prayer. Thus, a variety of practices were

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[76]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 318.

[77]Carstairs, op. cit., pp. 150-151. See Appendix B for Carstairs example.

[78]Simmie, op. cit., pp. 360-361.

employed during this period. Many ministers took no action, offering the prayer of consecration in the same manner in which other public prayers were given. There were, however, some ministers who adopted some form of gesture towards the bread and the wine as a symbol of the sanctifying of the elements and as a way of following the mode used by Christ when he instituted the Sacrament. Hence, the practice of some was to place one's hands upon the elements. Others held a piece of the bread and a cup of the wine during the prayer. And still others preserved the ancient mode of "the lifting of the Holy Elements." Matthew Leishman was among those who continued to place great importance upon this tradition which was no longer observed by the great majority. "On the eve of his son's first celebration of the Sacrament, he [Matthew Leishman] wrote counselling him on no account to forego that ancient usage."[79] It is significant to note that neither Carstairs, Simmie, Brown, Robertson, Lockhart, Charters, Russell, nor the lectures of Gerard, Hill, or Smith mention "lifting" or any other action relative to the prayer of consecration.

The primary purpose of the prayer of consecration was to beseech God to sanctify the Communion elements. Robertson properly labeled it as the "Prayer for a Blessing on the Elements." In practice this devotion was utilized for more than a single intent. Professor Gerard taught that the prayer ought to consist of two parts which were: "thanksgiving for the blessings of the gospel, and petitions for God's blessing on the institution, for his grace to excite and enliven all the devout affections which should be exerted in it, and for his assistance to perform our vows, and practise all the duties of life

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[79]Leishman, op. cit., p. 86. (See also G.W. Sprott, The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland, p. 115.)

to which they bind us."[80] These two divisions, thanksgiving and petitions, were so general that a variety of content could be included in the prayer of consecration and still conform to the directions taught in the divinity classroom. Carstairs' "Consecration Prayer" conformed very closely with the outline recommended by Gerard. The general theme of the prayer was the communicants' dependence upon God. The first part of the devotion consisted of rendering thanks to God for his goodness in giving life to each person and for the gospel of Jesus Christ. The section concluded with an expression of gratitude for God's guidance in bringing the congregation to the Sacrament to commemorate the "dying love" of the crucified Redeemer. The second half of the prayer contained two petitions. First, the presence of the Lord was invoked to bless the ordinance and to reveal himself to the communicants as they partook of the elements. Secondly, the Lord was petitioned to assist the worshippers to dedicate themselves more completely to be followers of Jesus and to "aid our virtuous resolutions;--enable us to put them in practice."[81] The prayer of consecration was simply titled "Second Prayer" by Dr. Simmie. The content was primarily that of thanksgiving. With gratitude and adoration the prayer briefly reviewed the life of Christ. Then thanksgiving was expressed for the Sacrament along with a confession of man's unworthiness. The last part of the devotion was a petition for the consecrating of the ordinance and for God's blessing upon the communicants. The two examples which were included in The Scotch Minister's Assistant principally submitted a number of petitions to God. The first model set forth by Robertson began with adoration to

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[80]Gerard, op. cit., p. 384.

[81]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 153.

the Lord for his counsel directing the congregation to present a steadfast witness to a "degenerate age," for his "divine consolations" which support the living and the dying, and for "those immortal joys" which are sufficient for the needs of life. The remaining three-fourths of the devotion were petitions for God's blessing upon the Lord's Supper and for the effectual application of the benefits of the Sacrament upon the lives of the communicants. Mystical language was particularly evident in this section. An illustration being: "Bow the heavens and come down; shine forth thou that dwellest between the cherubims, stir up thy strength, and come and save us. May we hear thy voice, and taste thy goodness; may we feel the powerful influence of thy Spirit upon our hearts, communicating life and light and joy to our souls."[82] The other consecration prayer by Robertson followed the same pattern. Adoration for the creative goodness of God and for the new covenant ratified by the blood of Christ and offered to communicants composed the brief first part of the prayer. The remaining major portion consisted of petitions for God's blessing upon the elements and for the spiritual gifts of the Sacrament to be bestowed upon all who came to the Lord's table sincerely prepared to enter into an everlasting covenant with Christ. One of the petitions was practically a direct quotation from a part of Gerard's directions regarding petitions. "Excite in our souls on this solemn occasion, all those devout affections which thou requireth in thy chosen people."[83] The prayer of consecration from each of these sources was

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[82]Robertson, op. cit., p. 237.

[83]Ibid., p. 232.

noticeably the shortest devotion during Communion Sabbath worship.[84] It served a particular purpose in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Therefore, from parish to parish the form and content of this prayer were very similar. It focused upon God's blessing upon those who would commune via the sanctifying of the Communion elements. First came thanksgiving and/or adoration; then petitions were presented. The only variation was that some prayers might devote more attention to one section than the other.

There were three necessary ministerial acts which constituted the final preparations for the actual dispensing of the bread and the wine. These were: "Fencing of the Tables," reading the Words of Institution, and offering the Prayer of Consecration. When these had been completed, the serving of the tables began. Each table service commenced with a short address by one of the officiating ministers. During the early years of the nineteenth century, the custom was for this address to continue before, during, and after the actual dispensing of the elements to those seated about the table. Lockhart's vivid account stated that "during the time which elapsed in the distribution of these symbols, the minister delivered an address to those who were partaking in them."[85] He noted that following the prayer of consecration, the minister broke a piece of the bread and then passed the bread to elders beside him who carried it to each person at the table. In the same manner, the cup was taken to the communicants. As soon as the elements had been given to the elders, the

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[84]The length of the Prayer of Consecration in the various sources was: Robertson, The Scotch Minister's Assistant, 329 words in the first example, and 455 in the second; Carstairs, The Scottish Communion Service, 467 words; and Simmie, 588 words.

[85]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 318.

minister delivered an address while the people were partaking. However, the more common custom was to begin the address, dispense the elements in the middle of it, and continue the discourse until everyone at the table had finished partaking. The six Table Services incorporated in The Scotch Minister's Assistant were examples of this mode. Approximately half way through his table address, Robertson repeated the Words of Institution regarding the bread. As this element was being distributed, the minister continued his discourse. Shortly thereafter he recited the Words of Institution concerning the wine. As the cup was passed, the preacher presented the last part of his exhortation. In the closing years of the eighteenth century, Professor Gerard was one of a few who expressed a dissatisfaction with the practice of delivering table addresses. In his lectures, the Aberdeen Professor of Divinity asserted:

> "It would be extremely decent, that, except the minister's distributing the elements with the words used by our Saviour, all the rest were performed in solemn silence. And this is, in fact, the method prescribed by our directory. But custom has introduced discourses at every table. These are attended with this inconvenience, that they employ the communicants too much in hearing, and divert them from what is their proper business, internal devotion. Since they are used, they ought therefore at least to be contrived so as to produce this inconvenience as little as possible."[86]

As the first decades of the nineteenth century passed, the table addresses continued to be a universal practice in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. However, the custom was slightly altered so that during the actual distribution of the bread and wine there was an interval in the minister's discourse. Thus, there developed what appeared in practice to be two comparatively short table addresses --

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[86]Gerard, op. cit., pp. 384-385.

one before and the other after communicating. When the first discourse ended, the minister repeated the Words of Institution. As he spoke the words "he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples," simultaneously "the clergyman breaks the bread, and presents it to the communicants seated nearest him." When the communicants had partaken of the bread, the minister resumed reciting the words regarding the wine. Upon repeating the phrases "he took the cup, and gave it unto his disciples," the minister "presents the cup to those nearest him."[87] Aside from the Words of Institution, there was an interval of silence which gave opportunity for "internal devotion." "The act of communion," wrote Dr. Carstairs in 1829, "is commonly performed in solemn silence."[88]

The content of the table addresses varied in length, style, and purpose according to the individual preacher. Generally, the discourse before the dispensing of the elements sought to draw the mind of the intending communicant to humbly consider what redeeming work was accomplished by God through the suffering and death of Christ. The post-Communion addresses tended to be exhortations which challenged communicants to go from the table with the memory of the Saviour's passion indelibly inscribed upon their minds and with the resolve to be faithful to their covenant with Christ even amidst their own sufferings and afflictions in life. At table services conducted by John Brown, the address before and the one after communicating formed two parts of a single exhortation. To each "Communion Exhortation" he gave a title which reveals the subject which made up the content of his address. A sample of four of his exhortations cover these topics: "The Redeeming Love of God," "The Love of Christ,"

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[87] Carstairs, op. cit., p. 155.

[88] Ibid., p. x.

"The Sufferings of Christ, and the Malignity of Sin," and "The Christian Salvation."[89] Dr. Simmie's table addresses were characterised by the use of various Scripture lessons to illustrate a truth about the communicants' covenantal relationship with Jesus. These homilies did not attempt to present many truths to the listeners, as was the style of many preachers of the age. Neither was the message laboured by an abundance of pious phrases. Like parables, the table addresses precisely communicated a single major truth. Simmie emphasised the application of truth to the Christian's life. To illustrate the discourses given by the minister of Rothiemay, one table service referred to the encounter of the blind Bartimeus with Jesus. The address before Communion stated that just as Bartimeus needed physical sight from Jesus, communicants were in need of spiritual sight from the Master. After they had partaken of the elements, the minister pointed out that after he had received sight, Bartimeus responded by eagerly following Jesus. Therefore, declared the preacher, the rapture of having communed with the Saviour should lead each person to more obedient discipleship to Christ. Another example was based upon Jeremiah 35, which relates the obedience of the Rechabites to their father, Jonadab. The opening table address taught that the Christian's obedience to Christ's commands should be parallel to the respectful obedience of the Rechabites. The post-Communion homily noted that the authority of Jonadab continued even after his death. Thus, in the same way, Christ's commandments have remained valid ever since they were given by the Redeemer. After the final table service, Simmie pronounced a benediction to conclude that

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[89] Brown, op. cit., pp. 199-203, 204-208, 209-213, 214-218. (See Appendix C for a complete example of a Communion Exhortation.)

part of the worship service. In the addresses for the five table services published by Dr. Carstairs, the content concentrated upon the vicarious sufferings of Jesus. Christ was frequently referred to as "a man of sorrows." The preacher expounded upon the agonies of the Passion. This theme, which filled both discourses at each table service, was intended to elicit the communicant's penitent dedication to the Saviour and also to undergird the faithful with the assurance that those who are steadfast to the Lord amidst the manifold hardships of this life will receive an eternal joy which is being prepared for them. The second address of each table service concluded with an ascription which was a close variation of: "Go in peace, and may the God of all consolation and peace go with you.--Amen."[90] Address before Communion, dispensing of the elements while the Word of Institution were repeated, address after Communion -- this constituted the succession of table services in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland on Communion Sabbath during this period of the nineteenth century. The mode of dispensing the bread and the cup were very similar; the addresses were different from one table service to the other. This was because of the fact that after the first table service, which was presided over by the host minister, the remaining table services were conducted by the rotation of guest preachers, who were also scheduled to take turns preaching from the Tent. Between table services the congregation sang a few verses of a praise during which those who had communed retired from the table while other intending communicants took their places. In this manner, a series of table services were held until all who wished to partake of the Lord's Supper had communed.

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[90]Carstairs, op. cit., pp. 159, 166, 176, 184, 193.

During the singing of a verse or two of a psalm or paraphrase following the final table service, the local minister returned to the pulpit where he delivered a closing address to all communicants. This exhortation was for the purpose of directing and challenging the communicants' return to the world. Therefore, it was to be practical in its content. For this discourse, Gerard advised that "whatever has a tendency either to persuade or to direct them to a becoming conduct, is a very proper topic."[91] With that as the only directions for the content of this address, ministers were quite free to compose according to the style and length which they preferred and to choose the subject which they thought most suitable for their own parish. Robertson called this address, "Exhortations to the Communicants, at the conclusion of the Solemn Action."[92] The two examples which Robertson included in his volume were very similar in content. Both exhortations emphasised that the real purpose of the Lord's Supper was to reform the heart and mind of the communicant and to activate holiness and righteousness in his conduct. "The true christian maintains an uniform and consistent character," declared Robertson. "His religion is not merely the work of a Sabbath day or of a communion day, but hath an habitual influence upon his behaviour, in subduing his passions, spiritualizing his affections, and regulating his conduct in the several relations of life."[93] This general message was repeated in a variety of ways throughout the two discourses. One address included several quotations from Scripture as well as referring to the actual place in Scripture where two of the passages could be

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[91]Gerard, op. cit., p. 386.

[92]Robertson, op. cit., p. 153. (See Appendix D.)

[93]Ibid., p. 163.

found. The other discourse made no reference to any text nor did it set forth any quotation from the Bible, although the language approached that kind of Scriptural language which characterised public prayers at that time. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Professor Brown labeled this part of the worship service simply as "Concluding Exhortations." In the introduction to one of his exhortations, he announced to the congregation the wide-sweeping aim and the primary source of that discourse.

> "I shall bring to your remembrance some most important truths--propose some most serious questions--utter some most alarming warnings--proclaim some most gracious calls and invitations--offer some useful advices--and conclude with expressing some earnest good wishes. . . . As I shall endeavour not only to present scriptural ideas, but to use almost wholly scriptural language, I not only request, but I command you, as you value your soul's salvation, to be attentive. The voice is on earth, but the speaker is in heaven."[94]

The "serious questions" were based upon a number of Scriptural directives to believers. The questions, which enclosed each of the directives, were asked so that the people might answer for themselves as to whether or not they had fulfilled the expectations of God. Of the remaining five points, each one was followed by a quotation of a passage of Scripture without any accompanying commentary by the preacher. The other concluding exhortation by Brown was entitled, "Habitual Remembrance of Christ Recommended." It developed "two most important practical truths--that remembrance of Christ should not be merely an occasional exercise, but a habitual employment; and that faith, and love, and reverence, and penitence, and joy, should not be mere transient sentiments and feelings, but abiding and operative

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[94]Brown, op. cit., p. 227.

principles."[95] Again in this exhortation, the United Presbyterian minister made frequent use of the Bible. Interwoven throughout the discourse were direct phrases and sentences from Scripture pertaining to the life of Jesus and the example he set for his disciples. The thesis of the discourse was: "Remember Christ, and you will never want an example to imitate: you will be furnished with a complete practical directory in the plainest and most interesting form. Would you wish to know how you should think, feel, and act? Remember how Jesus thought, and felt, and acted, and as 'he has set you an example, follow his steps.'"[96] At the end of this address the minister read Colossians 4:1-6. Then, as apparently was his usual practice, Professor Brown concluded the exhortation with a blessing. In the third decade of the nineteenth century, Dr. Carstairs labelled this declamation as the "Address from the Pulpit After Communion." The sample which he offered was one which entreatied the worshippers to make a final search of themselves before they adjourned from the service. Rather than develop a single theme, the minister of Anstruther-Wester delivered a series of exhortations. Topics introduced in the address were: a reminder to the communicants that they had, via the Sacrament, pledged themselves to be disciples of Jesus Christ; to any Judas who might be in the congregation, a plea to repent; a charge to believers to fulfill their vows to God; a challenge to steadfastness to the young who had communed for the first time; and a blessing upon the aged and anyone else who might not live to commune again on earth. Being no longer than the addresses given at a table service, the concluding discourse simply and very seriously

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[95] Ibid., p. 219.

[96] Ibid., p. 220.

introduced each subject without an overall conclusion or ascription. From this same decade of the nineteenth century came a "Concluding Address from the pulpit" by Dr. Simmie. An exposition of a single theme, the minister of Rothiemay delivered an exhortation to communicants upon the subject of faithfulness. He defined faithfulness as the "consistency of conduct with your Christian profession."[97] The contention of the discourse was that faithful communicants would pay their vows to the Lord by their conduct in life. For it was the Christian's behaviour which determined what other men thought of him; what peace of mind he would have; what the verdict of God's judgment would be upon him; and what reputation religion would be given to the world because of him. Therefore, declared Simmie, "see that ye pay your vows unto the Lord."[98] And this was the message which the concluding address was intended to leave with the communicants as they returned to everyday life. Ministers recognized the danger of participation in this very special service of public worship being regarded as the fulfilment of religious duty rather than a means toward more mature and more consistent Christian behaviour. Generally, then, the concluding address during this period of the nineteenth century was utilized by Scottish Presbyterian ministers to deliver a challenging, practical homily relating to Christian conduct.

The concluding address usually led to the concluding prayer. This third devotion of the worship service was of uniform content and of considerable length. There were two distinct sections in this prayer. The first part of the prayer flowed with praise, thanksgiving, and adoration to God for His very great goodness to undeserving man in

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[97] Simmie, op. cit., p. 389.

[98] Ibid., p. 394.

providing a way of salvation for him. "We bless thy name, that when we had destroyed ourselves, in thee was our help found,"[99] was the overall mood of Robertson's "Prayer at the Conclusion of the Solemn Service." "The amazing condescensions of thy grace" were reiterated in the spirit of humility and adoration. This division of the prayer blessed the Lord for the privilege and the benefits of partaking of the Sacrament. As Carstairs expressed it: "With grateful hearts we thank thee for the opportunity that has now been afforded us, of comemorating this wondrous love, and of testifying our gratitude to him who loved us, and died for us that we might live."[100] As was often characteristic of prayers of thanksgiving, the content included supplication that the Lord assist each worshipper to continue to be mindful of the grace of Jesus Christ and to show his gratitude by increasing faithfulness and holiness. This quite appropriately reinforced the message of the concluding address. For example, from The Scotch Minister's Assistant came this entreaty: "O keep us ever mindful of thy vows which are upon us, and enable us to live as becomes thy redeemed people. . . . May our whole life be a hymn of gratitude and of praise. . . ."[101] The second section of this prayer was a period of intercession. Robertson stated that this was "the general intercession" such as would be used at an ordinary service of public worship.[102] However, Dr. Carstairs included along with the

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[99]Robertson, op. cit., p. 239.

[100]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 201.

[101]Robertson, op. cit., p. 240.

[102]Ibid., pp. 242. 247. In both of Robertson's prayers, he did not give the actual content of the intercession. Instead, he simply referred to the general intercession of an ordinary service of public worship by this parenthetical comment -- "(Here introduce the general intercession.)"

usual remembrances specific intercession related to those who had communed. This latter portion included a plea for mercy in behalf of those who attended the Lord's table insincerely; for God's watchful care over the young who communed; for a vision of eternal glory to undergird the aged and infirmed; and for consolation and hope to be given to all who came to the Lord's Supper in mourning. The prayer concluded by petitioning God's blessing to be upon the congregation during the interval in the worship of the Communion Sabbath. This, therefore, was the format of the third prayer of the worship service. It was a devotion of thanksgiving and intercession.

Usually, the third prayer was followed by the singing of a psalm or paraphrase. Following this, the minister pronounced the Blessing and the worshippers were dismissed. While this was the common order for the last portion of the Communion service, there was a variation which was followed in certain country parishes. This was found in the service published from the writings of Dr. Simmie. In this volume, an editor's note relates the following information: "In the country parishes of that part of Scotland in which Rothiemay is situated, the practice of having an interval between the morning and afternoon worship, on the Communion Sunday, was found to be very inconvenient for the people, and has been for many years discontinued. Immediately after the concluding address from the presiding Clergyman, an Assistant goes to the pulpit, and conducts the afternoon service, commencing with prayer."[103] The prayer which was considered to be the start of the afternoon service was third devotion of this uninterrupted worship. Unlike the usual third prayer of the Communion service, Simmie's example only covered the content of thanksgiving and

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[103]Simmie, op. cit., p. 398.

supplication relative to the Sacrament. General intercession was reserved for the major emphasis of the fourth and final prayer of the service at Rothiemay. Thus, the third prayer concentrated upon thanksgiving for the opportunity of commemorating the death of the Saviour and upon supplications in behalf of the various conditions of men's hearts who had communed. Similar to Carstairs' in this latter section, Simmie remembered: those who were insincere; those who were inspired; those who had communed for the first time; those who renewed their covenant with God; and those who were in danger of forgetting what they had commemorated. The comparatively short devotion concluded with the plea "for the ear open to instruction, and the heart to receive counsel" in anticipation of the afternoon sermon. The fourth prayer of the service was that of general intercession. Among the wide range of situations included in this prayer was one which was particularly sensitive to the parishioners of that country parish. The minister of Rothiemay beseeched God to "give us, from day to day, our daily bread; and, for this purpose, grant us weather favourable to the labours and the hopes of the husbandman."[104] This was the concluding prayer of the particular order of worship represented by Dr. Simmie. Following that devotion, the congregation sang a praise and then the minister pronounced the benediction.

The "forenoon" service of public worship on Communion Sabbath was of an exhaustive duration in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland during this period of the nineteenth century. Professor Brown explained the cause by stating that "as on these occasions many from neighbouring congregations were present, the table-services were often numerous, and the communion did not close till far towards the

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[104] Ibid., p. 422.

evening."[105] Each part of the order of worship -- the slow process of singing, the length of the various addresses and discourses, the three prayers -- contributed to the prolongation of the service. Edgar noted that at the turn of the nineteenth century "sacramental services in small country Parishes like Dreghorn lasted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, and that there were a dozen or more tables served."[106] It was the practice in some parishes to have a recess in the middle of the Communion worship so that the ministers and elders could dine together at the manse. Russell recalled that the "protracted" service "began at 10:30, and with an hour and a quarter of interval, did not close till about 7 P.M."[107] In contrast with the example given by Edgar, the dispensing of the Sacrament at Yarrow required but seven table services. These marathon occasions continued to characterise Communion services in Scotland throughout the first decades of the new century. Thomas Leishman and James Croil testified that at Govan in 1831 "'the solemn service, which had lasted, without intermission, five or six hours, was closed, and the congregation dismissed with the Benediction--to meet again for worship at six o'clock in the evening.'"[108]

Churches which followed the policy illustrated by Rothiemay had their evening or "afternoon service" attached to the Communion service. However, most Presbyterian kirks had a separate and complete service of public worship in the evening. "In the evening," certified Professor Brown, "it was customary to deliver the concluding sermon

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[105]Brown, op. cit., p. vii.

[106]Edgar, op. cit., p. 169.

[107]Russell, op. cit., p. 151.

[108]Leishman, op. cit., p. 87.

to the whole congregation, in the open air."[109] It was likewise affirmed by Lockhart that in the evening "the kirk was shut up, and the whole of the thousands who had assembled, were summoned to hear one parting sermon at the tent together."[110] Other than to witness that such services were held, primary sources contained very little description of the order and the content of the worship. According to Dr. Carstairs, the order of the service was identical to those conducted on Fast Day and on Saturday. The worship began with the singing of a psalm. The first prayer consisted of several parts. It commenced by gratefully acknowledging the all-sufficiency of God. Next, man's unworthiness and his dependance upon the grace and mercy of Jesus were confessed. Supplication was made for the efficacy of the Communion service which had been held earlier in the day. And finally, a petition was submitted that the worshippers be enabled to follow the example of Jesus Christ in their conduct. The sermon was based upon I Thessalonians 1:2-3, which presented the characteristics of steadfastness in the Christian life. In this discourse, Dr. Carstairs noted the exemplary conduct of the early Christians in Thessalonica which Paul remembered with praise and thanksgiving. In the first place, the Thessalonian Christians put their faith to work in the face of difficult obstacles and aggressive opponents. Therefore, exhorted the preacher to those who had professed their faith in Christ by attending His table, do not let your works deny your faith. "Let the whole tenor of your lives be a proof of you sincere belief in Jesus, and of your ardent love for him."[111] Secondly, Paul

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[109]Brown, op. cit., p. vii.

[110]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 322.

[111]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 222.

credited those first century Christians with behaviour which was a labour of love. No idealistic dream, the love of God led to acts of brotherly love for mankind. Hence, applied the minister of Anstruther-Wester, communicants must not only feel love, but also enact that love wherever the needs of men are seen. The final point was that the early Christians were enabled to suffer greatly and quietly for their faith because of their patient hope in Jesus Christ. In all of the services composed by Dr. Carstairs, there was evident a sensitivity to the sufferings and the despair of life on earth. This feeling was especially obvious in the evening sermon when he decreed that there were circumstances in contemporary life which were unbearable without the patient hope of Christ. The sermon was concluded with the practical exhortation for communicants "to prove to the world, and your own consciences, that you are his disciples--not by heartless services, and unmeaning ceremonies, but by works of faith, by labours of love, and by patience of hope in the Lord Jesus."[112] The afternoon sermon by Dr. Simmie also illustrated the practical nature of the message delivered at this point in the sacramental season. The theme of his sermon, which used II Timothy 3:5 for the text, was the causes and the dangers of defecting from true religion by having a form of godliness without any power. Urging professing communicants to become practising Christians, Simmie directed each one to "let the whole of your future conduct testify that yesterday ye were with Jesus.--Amen."[113] The second prayer of the evening service was a prayer of dedication. The specimen by Dr. Carstairs was brief compared to the other devotions of the season. Unlike most prayers following the sermon, this one did

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[112] Ibid., p. 235.

[113] Simmie, op. cit., p. 418.

not include a period of intercession. Public worship for Communion Sabbath came to a close with the singing of a praise and the pronouncement of the Blessing.

On the surface it would seem to the modern observer that the relatively short evening service would be mechanical and anti-climactic after the unique and exhausting forenoon Communion service. The ministers and elders had put their primary effort in the administration of the Sacrament and in the preaching of the Word from pulpit, table, and tent. The people had begun their Sabbath observance early in the day -- many of them travelling some distance to arrive at the kirk. They had spent the day in a variety of activities. By the time the church bell called the worshippers to the evening service, one could imagine that both clergymen and laymen would have little energy and attention left to apply to public worship. And yet, there were Scotsmen who were deeply affected by the "Sacrament-Sunday Evening Service." Among them was Lockhart, who gave this testimony about a rural parish which he visited: "The concluding evening scene was without doubt by far the most impressive of the whole."[114] Although he was not born until 1836, William Milroy made the following editorial comment about the evening service and those who attended it during sacramental seasons during the first half of the nineteenth century: "The evening service would go on until nearly dark, although it was mid-summer. The people in those days had a stomach for theology, and hungered after the Word. The preachers were mighty men. They looked their audience in the face, and thundered and lightened--without notes!"[115] One spokesman who had been ordained in 1806 and who had participated

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[114]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 322.

[115]Milroy, op. cit., p. xvi.

in sacramental seasons in country and city parishes was Professor Brown. In 1853, when he reflected upon those occasions during the years of his parish ministry, he confessed that abuses were occasionally committed. Nevertheless, Brown looked back with affection and longing "to the impressive spectacle which was not uncommon in Scotland, of an assembly of many thousands, on a fine summer Sabbath evening, on a mountain-side, listening with deep attention and apparent devotion, to the glad tidings of great joy, delivered with solemn interest and tender affection."[116] When the evening service was dismissed, many families retired to their homes or lodgings to conclude the day with family worship. Thus, on the great day of the feast, communicants spent practically all of their waking hours in worship. And yet, the long Communion Sabbath did not conclude the sacramental season in the Presbyterian parishes of Scotland.

DAY OF THANKSGIVING

On Monday "after breakfast the Baronet informed me that the Sacrament was not yet over; and that we must all to church again once more. As the Sunday set apart for this great festival is preceded by several days of preparatory worship, so, in order to break off the impression produced by its solemnities, and allow of an easier fall into the ordinary concerns of life, the day immediately following it is also considered as in some measure a holy day."[117] Monday was set apart as a day of thanksgiving. Like the Fast Day, the observance on Sacrament Monday had developed with neither Scriptural nor statutory origin. The date of its conception is uncertain. Its rise to

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[116]Brown, op. cit., pp. vii-viii.

[117]Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

popularity was occasioned in 1630 "by the signal blessing that was seen to attend the preaching of John Livingstone, at Shotts, on the memorable Monday after the communion there in June of that year."[118] By 1644, it had become a common custom in Scotland. The precedent continued into the nineteenth century of Sacrament Monday being a day of public worship and thanksgiving.

Weather permitting, the Monday morning service of public worship was conducted from the tent. Two of the guest ministers presided at the service with each of them delivering a full sermon. As Lockhart testified: "Sermons are great luxeries in the eyes of the Scottish peasantry, and they can never have too much of them."[119] The content of the discourses presented on Sabbath evening and Monday morning was intended to be of a practical nature.[120] Generally, this proved to be an exhortation presenting the dedication to Christian virtue and to spiritual meditation as the means by which a person is enabled to successfully endure this world and attain the hope of heaven. Professor Brown presented five discourses which would be suitable for a Thanksgiving service at the close of the sacramental season. The following summary of these sermons provides an illustration of the practice of directing the thinking and the feelings of the communicants through this world towards heaven.

(1) "The Mind Which Was In Christ" - Philippians 2:5
Synopsis: The proper effect of the Lord's Supper is the acceptance by the communicant of the duty of having the mind of Christ,

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[118] Edgar, op. cit., p. 135.

[119] Lockhart, op. cit., p. 341.

[120] Brown, op. cit., p. vii. "The whole services of the day [Communion Sabbath] were concluded by a sermon which, as well as the two sermons preached on the Monday forenoon, and those on the following Lord's Day, commonly called the Thanksgiving Sabbath, was generally of a practical kind."

i.e., "to think along with Christ--to feel along with Christ--to choose along with Christ--to dislike what he dislikes--to love what he loves;--and for this purpose it is your duty to study the revelation of his mind and will contained in his word, seeking the influence of his good Spirit that you may understand and believe that revelation, for in this way alone will his mind soon become your mind--his will your will."[121] This is advantageous for the present life and it fits us for heaven.

(2) "The Christian Exhorted and Encouraged to Exertion" - II Chronicles 15:7
Synopsis: Increased spiritual vigour, which is achieved by the exercise of faith and prayer, must be discharged in carrying out Christian duty, in resisting spiritual adversaries, and in enduring the appointed trials of this life. Such spiritual exertion is rewarded in the present, primarily by the sure hope of eternal life, and in the future state of celestial blessedness.

(3) "The Saint's Seed-Time and Harvest" - Psalm 126:5
Synopsis: In the present life the Christian saint struggles to fulfill his duty amidst sin and misery. However, as the result of, and corresponding to, the saint's present state of sowing, his future state will be a harvest of joyous activity.

(4) "The Christian a Citizen of Heaven" - Phillippians 3:20
Synopsis: Christians are citizens of heaven. This means "--that they are strangers and sojourners in the present state;--that heaven is the residence of their Father and friends;--that they are possessed of peculiar immunities;--that they are distinguished by a peculiar mode of conduct;--that their best affections are placed on heavenly objects;--that they maintain a constant intercourse with heaven;--and that heaven shall be the place of their everlasting abode."[122] Such citizenship should enable the Christian to maintain a Christ-like mode of conduct even amidst the afflictions of the present world.

(5) "The Terms of Discipleship, and the Reasons for Complying with Them" - Matthew 16:24-27; Mark 8:34-36; Luke 9:23-26
Synopsis: Essentially, the Christian life is "a habitual following of Christ as a teacher, ruler, and exemplar, growing out of an entire renunciation of self, and connected with a readiness to submit to any degree of privation and suffering he may appoint, for the promotion of his cause."[123] Such discipleship leads to the enjoyment of eternal life.

This dominating emphasis upon the hardships of the present world and the blessed prospect of eternal life in heaven also characterised

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[121] Ibid., p. 248.

[122] Ibid., p. 288.

[123] Ibid., p. 303.

the two Monday morning sermons set forth by Dr. Carstairs. The first discourse based upon I Corinthians 15:22, contained two main points: (1) Our inheritance of death is the most hopeless, inescapable, cheerless enemy of mankind; and (2) our happiness is in being delivered from this enemy by Jesus Christ. Therefore, concluded the message, be diligent to make your calling and election sure. The second sermon for the Monday service selected Philippians 3:20 for the text, and the introduction of the discourse included an unusually long reading of the third chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. The theme of the homily was that the Christian's home is heaven. Carstairs exhorted communicants to "let your soul gradually detach itself from this world, that when the days of darkness draw on, you may not be found, without hope, still clinging to a scene which can afford no delight."[124] The practical application of this message directed the believer to keep the prospect of heaven foremost in his thoughts, his conversation, and his affections during the remainder of his pilgrimage on earth. Like Professor Brown, Dr. Carstairs' specimen of the Sacrament Monday sermons reveal a striking similarity in the content of such discourses. Proposed as exhortations of a practical nature, these sermons primarily emphasised the hope of heaven as the motivating force which would enable the Christian to be steadfast and virtuous during his days on earth.

The order of worship for the Monday morning service began with an opening psalm followed by a prayer of adoration and thanksgiving. Then came the first sermon. Next, a psalm or paraphrase was sung. According to Dr. Carstairs, this was followed by the Lord's Prayer. This was the second time during the sacramental season that the rarely

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[124]Carstairs, op. cit., p. 282.

used devotion was employed in public worship by the minister of Anstruther-Wester. The sequence continued with the second minister delivering his discourse. A prayer of supplication and blessing which related to the theme(s) of the sermons was then offered. The service concluded with the singing of a praise and the pronouncement of the blessing. It was the custom of many host ministers to make some closing remarks either before the final praise or just after the benediction. Some of these pastors concluded their remarks by the practice of "pirlequeying" the preachers, i.e., to give a summary of the sermons delivered at the services of public worship from Thursday through Monday. This exercise tested the host minister in a number of ways. Primarily, it necessitated that he maintain full attention and employ a retentive memory at every service, regardless of the possible distractions which might occur and the many concerns which might be on his mind regarding various arrangements for the sacramental season which had been made and were requiring fulfilment. Pirlequeying also required diplomacy on the part of the minister. He must carefully summarize a sermon even though he might not fully agree with it and would be tempted to present a critique rather than a resume. Particular tact was demanded if the discourses of two preachers did not harmonise with each other. Clergymen themselves reacted with a variety of opinions about this practice, especially when their own sermons were being summarized. An interesting insight into this custom was given by Russell, who praised his own father's ability in pirlequeying. Regardless of the mixed feelings of the ministers, Russell claimed that "the people generally were very fond of this sort of resume, as it brought what they had heard vividly to their recollection, and within a narrow compass, and sometimes made

plain what they had failed to understand before."[125] Unusual and controversial, the practice of pirlequeying was by no means universally included in the annual occasions of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The sacramental season had begun on Thursday with a fast. It concluded on Monday with a feast. After the morning worship service, the remainder of the day was spent "devoted to a kind of pleasant and innocent relaxation of the austere and unremitting spirit of devotion, exercised on the other days connected with the ceremony."[126] The Monday dinner at the manse was a social function for which invitations were given. Ministers, elders, and lay-people greeted one another and indulged in long conversations covering every imaginable topic. Naturally it happened that occasionally the boundries of "sober mirth" were broken by the long pent-up spirits of the Scots.[127] Late in the afternoon of that day of thanksgiving the people slowly dispersed to their homes with a variety of memories of how they had kept the feast.

A description of the occasion of the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Scotland during the early nineteenth century might easily convey the impression that the whole season had actually become a folk festival. It cannot be refuted that the atmosphere was often that of a holiday. There were many abuses made of the five, work-free days of fellowship with friends, neighbours, and new acquaintances. The popularity received by Burns' poem, "The Holy

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[125]Russell, op. cit., p. 150.

[126]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 341.

[127]Leishman, op. cit., p. 88. Young people in particular found it difficult to restrain themselves any longer. Though not confirmed as absolutely true, the story is recorded by Leishman as typical that one year at Govan during the Monday feast "a large pie when opened was found to be stuffed with hay, and labelled--All Flesh is as grass."

Fair," plus the available historical evidence to verify its content have tended to obscure the fact that the sacrament was also celebrated with much seriousness. A considerable portion of the people attached deep meaning to the annual event. The Lord's Supper was observed with profound devotion and eager anticipation. According to Reformed tradition, much of the pastor's parish visitation and pulpit conduct was an effort to prepare the people to participate in this special service of worship.[128] The attitude and the attention given by the aids-to-public worship and by the primary sources of the early nineteenth century provide evidence of the extreme importance being given to the administration of the Lord's Supper. Reflecting upon those early years of the century, James Begg wrote: "These great and memorable seasons of communion were of much value, by breaking in upon the routine of the ordinary Sabbaths, confirming at the mouths of many witnesses the great truths of the Gospel, giving the people of the whole district an opportunity of hearing the most powerful preaching, and refreshing and stimulating the ministers themselves by pleasant and edifying intercourse with each other. The alleged drawbacks to the system were as nothing in comparison with these great and manifest advantages."[129] Lockhart explicitly agreed with this contention when he made the objective observation that "it would be vain for me to deny that there was something extremely affecting even

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[128]Gerard, op. cit., pp. 212ff; Hill, op. cit., pp. 391ff. Churchmen at the beginning of the nineteenth century continued to advocate pastoral visitation and catechising as the first order of importance of a pastor's daily duties. Both Gerard and Hill listed Pastoral Visitation of Families and Catechising respectively as the two most important functions of the minister's private duties. John Smith placed catechising as first and pastoral visits second in describing the daily duties of the pastoral office. (See John Smith, op. cit., pp. 234ff. Also see The First Book of Discipline, pp. 59ff.)

[129]Thomas Smith, op. cit., p. 14.

in its extreme simplicity, and still more so in the deep and overwhelming seriousness which seemed to fill the spirits of the partakers."[130] Furthermore, many of these "partakers" and their ministers recognised with increasing concern that problems had arisen within the traditions and customs of the annual sacramental season. Hence, during those years of the nineteenth century, from divinity halls to parishes measures were taken to lead the Presbyterians of Scotland to an observance of the Lord's Supper which would conform more closely to their understanding of Reformed doctrine and practice.

Within the divinity halls, theological students were warned of the abuses of the Communion season which were occasioned by irreverence on the one hand, and by dangers of being identified with Popish superstition on the other. Professor Gerard and Principal Hill urged prospective pastors to be diligent in instructing their congregations in the Reformation doctrine of the Lord's Supper as contained in the teachings of Calvinism and the Westminster Confession of Faith. Sensitive to the fact that some ministers taught the Zwinglian doctrine of the elements being mere signs of Christ's absent body and blood, Hill emphasised that Calvin went beyond Zwingli to teach that "Christ, by the use of the signs in the Lord's Supper, is spiritually present, that is, present to their minds."[131] By receiving the elements in that spirit, the communicants receive "a seal of that forgiveness of sins which, through the blood of the covenant, is granted to all that repent, and a pledge of the future blessings which were purchased for them by the death of Christ."[132] While Hill stressed the systematic

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[130]Lockhart, op. cit., p. 319.

[131]Hill, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

[132]Ibid., p. 323.

theology of Calvin regarding the sacrament, Professor Gerard emphasised the practical theology of administering the Lord's Supper. He accentuated the importance of instructing the people as to the qualifications which render them fit to receive the sacrament. The purpose for this instruction was not only to be informative but also to motivate the people to improve their lives in holiness and goodness. Therefore, Gerard lectured about the correct methods of fencing the tables. The Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen repeatedly cautioned students that the office of a clergyman was ministerial, not dictatorial. Hence, the pastor should conduct the fencing of the tables "as declarations of the necessary qualifications of communicants, by which they may examine and judge themselves, than to affect the authority and solemnity which are sometimes used, of repeating continually, 'I debar and exclude,' or 'I invite in the name of Christ.'"[133] The pastor was to declare objectively to his hearers those qualifications, and only those qualifications, which were absolutely required by Scripture. In doing so, Gerard cautioned prospective ministers to adopt a manner which would show the people that those qualifications which rendered a person unfit to sit at the Lord's Table were not the product of the preacher's own arbitrary opinion. "The easiest and most effectual way of answering this end seems to be, along with every character that is described, to point the reason why, or to express in what manner, it renders those to whom it belongs unworthy."[134]

The moral and ethical progress of the communicants was a central objective in administering the Lord's Supper. The fencing of the tables warned the people of their behaviour in the past. Table

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[133]Gerard, op. cit., pp. 383-384.

[134]Ibid., p. 382.

addresses sought to direct the devotional thoughts of believers to consider the blessings given through Jesus Christ as the motivation towards the dedication of their own lives to be more faithful. After everyone had communed, the proper content of the closing address would be "whatever has a tendency either to persuade or to direct them to a becoming conduct."[135] Hence, each part of the administration of the Lord's Supper was to be aimed at the cultivation of Christian behaviour. This was precisely set forth in Professor Gerard's summary statement: "Great care is necessary in every thing that is said about this sacrament, to avoid mystical and unmeaning expressions, to use no word which does not convey a distinct and rational conception, and to direct the whole to practice. Most men's minds are, at this time, peculiarly susceptible of good impressions; and a minister should seize this favourable opportunity of fixing in them something practical, something moral, something fit to enter into their temper, and regulate their life."[136] From the viewpoint of the systematic theologian, Principal Hill agreed that doctrine "may be rendered in a high degree subservient to the moral improvement of Christians."[137] He went on to warn against an over-emphasis of the special effectiveness of the sacrament lest "the humble and contrite may be overwhelmed with religious melancholy" and "presumptuous sinners may be confirmed in habits of wickedness by feeling an occasional glow of affection while they sit at the Lord's table."[138] Therefore, the Reformation doctrine set forth in Calvinism and in the Westminster

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[135] Ibid., p. 386.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Hill, op. cit., p. 324.

[138] Ibid., pp. 324-325.

Confession of Faith, and the Moderate objective of the moral and ethical improvement of the communicants were the central teachings in divinity halls regarding the dispensing of the Lord's Supper. Specific forms and modes of dispensing the sacrament were not prescribed. Wrote Hill: "They [ministers] act more wisely, and more conformable to the true spirit of the Gospel, by adhering to the mode of administering the Sacraments which prevails in their neighbourhood, and by employing their talents and exertions in rendering that mode subservient to the great end of cherishing good impressions, and promoting practical godliness."[139]

Although such freedom of form was declared in divinity classrooms, it was not unconditionally permitted in parish practice. Many ministers were aware of certain problems which had developed within the traditional observance of the sacramental season. And some of these preachers sought to find remedies. But change to this most cherished and special of all worship services in Scotland did not take place without opposition. Furthermore, with or without active, contemporary opposition, firmly entrenched tradition itself was a static foe to change. For example, one change which was beginning to occur during the early period of the nineteenth century was one which had been repeatedly advocated in vain throughout the eighteenth century. The subject was the lack of regularity in the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the churches of Scotland. As was pointed out in chapter one of this study, various attempts were made during the eighteenth century in various judicatories of the church to more regularly and more frequently administer the Sacrament in each parish. The results were that churches more regularly celebrated the Lord's Supper annually

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[139] Ibid., p. 309.

but not more frequently within each year. Near the end of the eighteenth century, Samuel Charters suggested that "the Lord's Supper might be celebrated more frequently, if the necessary expence were furnished. Ministers of this church, who seldom have money to spare, would willingly bestow their labour."[140] Charters was referring to a policy which carried over into the nineteenth century regarding the expenses of the sacramental season. If the total collections during the occasion failed to cover the total expenses, the deficiency was made up by the minister; if the collections revealed a surplus, it went into the congregational funds.[141] Whether or not Charters' suggestion was valid cannot be substantiated. However, his comment was a testimony to the fact that more frequent communions had not become commonplace and that this topic was still being discussed within the churches.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, various proposals were made concerning the number of times at which the Lord's Supper ought to be administered within each twelve-month period. Some suggested a by-yearly observance, others sought a quarterly celebration, and a few others began to propose a weekly dispensing of the sacrament. But the opinion and practice of the large majority was to maintain the celebration of the Lord's Supper at an annual sacramental season. An example of the common status quo attitude was contained in an article entitled, "Advantages of the Usual Mode of Dispensing the Lord's Supper," which was printed in The Edinburgh

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[140] Samuel Charters, A Sermon on Alms, p. 52.

[141] Records of the SCH Society, vol. III, p. 160. "Should there be a deficiency in the collections the amount had to be made up by the minister; if a surplus, it went into the congregational funds." -- from an article entitled "A Kirk Session Clerk's Notebook, 1809-1834" which was from a parish in the West of Scotland.

Christian Instructor for March, 1824. The author, whose pen name was "Scoto-Presbyter," declared: "The present mode of dispensing the Lord's Supper among us, provides for the religious intercourse of ministers and people, to an extent which could not easily be secured upon any other plan with such good effect."[142] Another representative statement was written and published in 1805 by Alexander Duncan. His book was entitled A Disquisition on the Observance of the Lord's Supper, with a view to the Defence of the Presbyterian Plan of Administrating that Ordinance. It was occasioned especially by a recommendation which was being voiced in behalf of dispensing the sacrament on a weekly basis. Duncan's reaction was to defend the annual observance of communion against any suggestion towards the more frequent dispensing of the sacrament. He contended that the annual celebration complete with all of the services of preparation and thanksgiving was the Presbyterian plan for administering the sacrament. The foundation stone of Duncan's thesis was the theological viewpoint which interpreted the Lord's Supper as being the successor to the Passover as the only sacred feast in the Christian Church. Since the Passover was an annual observance, the feast which replaced it should also be held annually. Duncan denied the proposition that the practice of the Apostolic Age supported weekly or even frequent observances. He explained the procedure of the first century Christian Church in these words: "The members of different congregations, as many as could, joined together at certain times in the ordinance of the Supper, to testify their unity in the profession of Christ; and that for this end the ordinance was dispensed now at one place of meeting, now at another, in routine."[143] He went on

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[142]The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, vol. XXIII, p. 176.

[143]Alexander Duncan, A Disquisition on the Observance of the Lord's Supper, p. 105.

to allege that the history of the subsequent centuries of the Christian Church did not testify to infallible practices of the Church and that the testimony of Calvin was not that of a final authority even for the Reformed Church which has been "led to mark other reasons against weekly communion, which did not seem to have occurred to Calvin,--reasons connected with the very nature of the ordinance, and its manifest design in regard to the visible church."[144] Further arguments against more frequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper were: that vows of discipleship, which are renewed by participation in the sacrament, "should be only an occasional exercise"; that the spiritual utility of the sacrament should not be compromised to accommodate the negligent; and that the solemnity of the occasion should not be sacrificed for frequent celebrations which would give the mistaken impression that the entire dispensation of grace is contained in the Lord's Supper. Therefore, concluded Duncan, "the plan of observance followed among Presbyterians is suited at once to the importance of the Supper, to its solemnity, and, by promoting an enlarged fellowship, to its use in regard to the demonstration of unity."[145]

Since most advocates of more frequent communion also suggested the abridgment or even the abolishment of concomitant worship services of the traditional sacramental season, Duncan also defended the observance of Fast, Preparation, and Thanksgiving days. He contended that from the example of Christ and the teaching of Scripture, it was not inappropriate to attach services of fasting, preparation, and thanksgiving to the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, the nature and design of the sacrament required the setting aside of proper times wherein

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[144] Ibid., p. 115.

[145] Ibid., p. 72.

communicants could express devotions of humiliation and thanksgiving. "May we not conclude then," summarized the author, "from the solemn preparation for the first communion, from the instruction it was intended to convey, and from our Lord's procedure according to it, that it is his will a special regard should be had by individuals to personal purity, and by ecclesiastical bodies to the state of their members, in prospect of the Supper."[146] The duty of fulfilling Christ's will by the observance of those special services should not be laid aside for the sake of personal convenience. Furthermore, the argument that the accompanying services were a hindrance from more frequent communion observances was not valid, according to the view represented by Duncan, because there was no warrant for more frequent celebrations. Finally, and without elaborating upon the conviction, Duncan stated that in the contemporary situation of a Church with nominal disciples and a society that was degenerating, the traditional mode of dispensing the sacrament was further justified.

Although the traditional annual sacramental season continued to be the common practice in Scottish kirks, the subject continued to be discussed outside of the courts of the church. At the same time, a trend began to develop within the parishes of Scotland in which people began to show a lack of desire to attend religious services outside their own parochial boundaries. This tendency resulted in a decline in the size of the crowds attending the sacramental seasons of churches. Edgar specifically noted this change in the preserved kirk records at Mauchline. From a peak attendance of 1400 communicants in 1788, the numbers steadily declined to 700 in 1793, 500 in 1805, and 400 in

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[146] Ibid., p. 171.

1819.[147] Whereas Duncan noted the nominalism of Christians as a sign that the Church needed to maintain her traditional mode of observing the Lord's Supper, Henry Grey saw the contemporary situation as a call to increase the number of times during the year when churches dispense the sacrament. "For the most part," he professed, "the use of the communion keeps pace with vitality and vigour in religion, . . . it is the mark of a reviving church to multiply these seasons of Christian fellowship."[148] With this as his pre-supposition, the Minister of St. Mary's, Edinburgh, became a leading spokesman for more frequent communions during the 1820's. Grey referred to John Erskine, Thomas Randall, and "many other good men" who had worked for the adoption of quarterly celebrations of the Lord's Supper. "Where such men were defeated, I should least of all purpose myself as a successor to their undertaking," he claimed.[149] In 1832, Grey published a series of three sermons under the title, The Duty and Desirableness of Frequent Communion With Christ in the Sacrament of the Supper. The common text of the three discourses was I Corinthians 11:25.

In the first sermon of the series, Grey introduced his subject by stating that the simplicity of the actual communion service plus the easy availability of the elements readily accommodated the frequent observance of the Lord's Supper. Then he presented the two main reasons for more frequently dispensing the sacrament. The first premise was that the nature and design of the institution of the Lord's Supper recommended its perpetual observance. Grey pointed to

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[147]Edgar, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

[148]Henry Grey, The Duty and Desirableness of Frequent Communion with Christ in the Sacrament of the Supper, p. 55.

[149]Ibid., p. x.

the Lord's Supper as "a symbolical representation" of the remission of sins and the gift of immortality which was achieved for Christians through the voluntary sufferings and death of Jesus Christ. This revelation which is represented and applied to the believer by the sacrament merits an eminent place in the ordinances of Christianity. Also, the institution of the Lord's Supper was designed to give the believer an opportunity to testify publicly of his discipleship to Christ and of his union with all other Christians. Summarising his premise, Mr. Grey stated: "While this holy ordinance is thus fitted and designed to apply the peace-speaking blood of Christ to the conscience, to shed abroad a sense of his love in the heart, to seal his covenant with his people, and convey the rich consolations of the spirit of grace, it is likewise designed to mark out the disciples of Christ, as separated from the world, and distinguished by their confession of a common Redeemer."[150] The second proposition was that more frequent communion would bring about beneficial effects. Grey pointed out that in the past when the church was undergoing either persecution or revival, she turned to that divinely appointed feast with frequency and zeal. He asserted that "none of all the ordinances of our religion is so efficacious in calling faith to realize its first principles, in awakening the ardour of grateful attachment, and in summoning all the graces of the Holy Spirit, in their primitive energy, to their natural and healthful exercise."[151] Furthermore, he contended that more frequent communion benefited ministers in making them more conscientious and fruitful in their ministry. Grey concluded this first address by sweeping all those

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[150] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[151] Ibid., p. 30.

opposed to frequent communion into the general category of "those who have no relish for things of the Spirit, and have never come in heart to Christ."[152]

The second discourse by Henry Grey promoted the cause of more frequent communion by appealing to the testimony of church history. The practice of the church in apostolic times was that of receiving the sacrament weekly or even more often than that. Grey qualified this practice as being one which does not demand that the church absolutely follow the policy of the apostles. He conceded that "if circumstances forbid the exact adoption of them, [we] should still be anxious to conform, as far as possible, to the principles implied in them."[153] While the practice established in apostolic times prevailed for several centuries, Grey noted that after the middle of the fifth century the Church of Rome declared that the Lord's Supper was only required to be celebrated three times annually, namely, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. Later, during the Dark Ages, the priest assumed the power of absolving souls from sin by means of a new expiatory sacrifice wherein recipients of the sacrament were only admitted at his discretion. Then came the Reformation. The history of the Reformation Church revealed the importance of frequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper, e.g., weekly dispensing advocated by Calvin and the quarterly observance practiced by Presbyterians in America. Turning to the history of communion in the Church of Scotland, Grey declared that "the principles of our Church [since the Reformation] have been favourable to frequent communion, and many have been her exhortations to it by the voice of her General

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[152] Ibid., p. 36.

[153] Ibid., p. 48.

Assemblies."[154] In support of this statement, the author specifically noted relevant acts of the General Assemblies of 1562, 1638, 1645, 1701, 1711, 1712, 1724, and 1751. He also noted that the First Book of Discipline of 1560 recommended observances of communion four times each year; that the Westminster Directory of Public Worship of 1645 and the Larger Catechism both recommended frequent celebrations of communion; and that the Presbyteries of Edinburgh (1720) and Glasgow (1748) had attempted to practice more frequent administrations of communion among their own parishes. Finally, Grey observed that in recent years the Chapels of Ease, under the direction of the General Assembly, had been appointed to dispense the Lord's Supper four times annually.

The remainder of the second sermon and the entire content of the third discourse was given over to answering the objections, which Henry Grey had noted, to more frequent communions. These, together with the author's answers, are summarised as follows:

(1) Frequency would lessen the solemnity and dignity of the ordinance. Besides, commemorations, such as the Passover, are usually observed annually.
Answer: Since the Apostles were inspired, they knew best. It is frequent fellowship, not prolonged absence, that best maintains friendship with Christ.

(2) The abridgement or abolishment of concomitant services would lessen the utility of communion.
Answer: These extra services are not indispensable. Many such objections are grounded in superstition and self-righteousness. More frequent celebrations and fewer services accompanying them would remind the church of the essentials and dispense with the incidentals.

(3) More frequent communion would only contribute to the already low state of religion.
Answer: The low state of religion may well be caused by infrequent communion. The ineffectiveness of the church renders the Lord's Supper more necessary because it would elevate the mind and character of church members.

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[154] Ibid., p. 56.

(4) The proposed changes would cause deviations from the church's uniformity of worship.
Answer: Uniformity of worship regarding the number of times of dispensing the sacrament is not practiced in the contemporary situation. "In this city [Edinburgh] there are, in the Establishment, several places of worship, where the Supper is dispensed either four or six times a-year: and, in other presbyteries, we find it in some parishes once, in others twice, in others four times a year."[155]

(5) More frequent communion would be burdensome and only reluctantly accepted.
Answer: No one is forced to attend the sacrament. There is no reason to create a conflict between difficulty on the one hand, and necessity on the other.

In conclusion, Grey stated one of the primary motivations for his support of the cause of more frequent communion observances: "What we aim at is, not to impose the restraint of formal services, to encroach on your time, or hinder you in the prosecution of your affairs; but to help you to the better improvement of the time you already consecrate, to make your Sabbaths more efficient, and to give to your religious engagements greater influence and authority over the heart."[156]

After over a century of overtures to the various judicatories of the church, of printed and oral debates on the subject, and of isolated and unavailing attempts to practice more frequent communion, certain parishes began a gradual but affective trend towards celebrations of the Lord's Supper on more than one occasion during the year. This tendency was noted first within the Presbyterian churches outside the establishment.[157] As Professor Brown recalled, a few parishes, primarily in the cities, of the Church of Scotland were beginning to

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[155] Ibid., pp. 96-97.

[156] Ibid., p. 111.

[157] Brown, op. cit., p. vi. Brown credited the "Dissenters" and "Seceders" with initially introducing and advancing the practice of more frequent communions.

administer the sacrament more than once each year during the second decade of the nineteenth century. As noted above by Henry Grey, some of the churches of the establishment had begun more frequent communion services in Edinburgh before 1832. Grey himself "was one of the first of the city ministers to introduce more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion."[158] This would have taken place after the first quarter of the century since Grey did not translate to Edinburgh until 1825. Leishman stated that in 1831 at Govan "there were then two Communion seasons, deemed rather in advance of the times, for in most country parishes there was but one."[159] At approximately the same time, the Reverend Robert Story, Minister of Rosneath from 1818 to 1859, "introduced the half-yearly observance of the Communion, and 'for some time before his death it was dispensed thrice a year.'"[160] The trend towards more frequent communion had firmly been established by 1843. This gradual process of change would continue throughout the remainder of the century.

The General Assembly Act of 1701, which recommended more frequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper, also urged that the number of ministers assisting in a sacramental season be restricted "so that neighbouring churches be not thereby cast desolate on the Lord's Day."[161] The General Assembly of 1645 had specifically allowed that one minister may be employed for assisting the host minister of a parish observing communion, or at the most two assistants

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[158] Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, vol. I, p. 113.

[159] Leishman, op. cit., p. 85.

[160] Misses Story, Memoir of Robert Herbert Story, p. 36.

[161] Acts of the General Assembly, op. cit., p. 311.

could be invited.[162] However, as the custom of the sacramental season developed with its characteristicly large crowds, the policy of employing an increasing number of assisting ministers also developed. For various reasons, those who had been invited to participate in conducting a sacramental season returned the favour by requesting the presence of their fellow clergyman at their respective seasons. The result was that a minister may be called upon to participate in several different occasions during the year. During the eighteenth century, it became the ordinary custom to invite six ministers to assist at the sacramental season of a parish. Thus, when describing the ministry of his father in the early nineteenth century, James Begg listed "assisting at communions" as one of the main activities of his pastoral duties.[163] Often, when a minister went to a neighbouring parish to assist their observance of communion, he did not make any arrangements for a substitute preacher to lead the Sabbath worship in his own pulpit. This meant that during the year there would be several Sundays when there would be no public worship services in the parish kirk due to the fact that the minister was assisting at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at another church. Edgar again supplied a sample of the records at Mauchline regarding the number of Sundays when that pulpit was left "desolate." Selecting the year 1810, 1811, and 1814, he discovered that "in each of these years there were five silent Sundays, that is five Sundays on which the minister required to be absent, or was absent, at neighbouring

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[162] Ibid., pp. 120-121. Act. Sess. 14, February 7, 1645, Article 3, statement 6.

[163] Thomas Smith, op. cit., p. 6. ". . . his time was entirely engrossed with preaching, visiting, catechising, managing the poor, attending Presbyteries, assisting at communions, and generally promoting the temporal and spiritual interests of all around."

communions, or for other reasons, and had no substitute in his place."[164] Although "silent Sundays" continued to be a common occurance throughout this early period of the nineteenth century, at least one attempt was made to change this custom. At Rosneath the father of Principal R. H. Story "introduced what was considered the offensive innovation of never leaving his own pulpit vacant on the occasion of the Communion being observed in the neighbouring parishes. Rather than do this, he entailed upon himself the fatigue of performing service at home on these occasions, and then travelling often many rough miles, to assist in the services elsewhere."[165]

A general spirit of increased freedom and toleration among the various branches of Presbyterianism in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century issued in a period of greater communication leading towards various negotiations regarding the union and reunion of Presbyterians. The New Light Burghers and the New Licht Anti-Burghers of the First Secession began to move in the direction of union. Auld Licht Burghers were ready to begin considering reunion with the Established Church as the 1820's came to a close. Nevertheless, this spirit did not extend across all boundaries. And one of the areas which continued to witness to the divisions within the Reformed Church in Scotland was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. For while there was a general uniformity in the mode and customs of celebrating the sacrament among all Presbyterians, each division segregated its communion table from the other branches of the Reformed faith. The notable exception was the Relief Church. The leader of this second secession church body was Thomas Gillespie whose motto

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[164]Edgar, op. cit., p. 109.

[165]Misses Story, op. cit., p. 36.

was: "I hold communion with all that visibly hold the Head, and with such only."[166] Thomas Boston, Gillespie's colleague in constituting the Presbytery of Relief in 1761, also advocated freedom of communion as a corrective to the close and exclusive principles which were gaining ground in the Secession Church and in the Church of Scotland. He "desired to love all those, of whatsoever denomination they be, that love our Lord Jesus Christ."[167] Gillespie, Boston, and their like-minded brethren conceived of their presbytery as a complement to rather than an opponent of the established church. Their objective was to offer an alternative or relief, from the system of patronage. Thus, the first principle of the Relief Church was the right of the people to elect their own minister and office-bearers. The second principle which they established was that of free communion. The result was that all professing Christians were invited to the Lord's Table in the Relief Churches and that the Relief ministers were free to invite assisting clergymen from other denominations. This principle was submitted to its first serious test in the summer of 1769. Some of the elders of the Relief Church of Dunse complained to the Presbytery that Mr. Monteith, their minister, had gone to assist the celebration of the Lord's Supper at an Independent Church in Newcastle. Though the Presbytery did not hold a formal trial, it did hear the parties on both sides of the issue and then gave its opinion that Mr. Monteith had done nothing wrong. In noting this case, Gavin Struthers further observed that the decision of the Presbytery rendered a valuable clarification of the Relief principle

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[166] Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise of the Relief Church, p. 123.

[167] Ibid., p. 137.

of free communion relating to other dissenting churches. The decision "showed that it was not merely with godly ministers in the Establishment, but in other religious denominations also, that they were prepared to hold fellowship as God gave them opportunity."[168] However, inspite of this clarification, the conditions of free communion were debated again in 1772. The Relief Church had based its policy of free communion upon the conviction that all who were visible saints were worthy to participate in the Lord's Supper. In 1772, a dispute arose over the interpretation of the term "visible saints." On the one side there were those who contended that the term was intended to refer only to visible saints among Presbyterians. On the other side were those who declared that the term applied to all Christians, not as they belonged to a particular denomination, but as they appeared to be the children of God by their visible conduct. The decision of the Presbytery of Relief was in favour of the latter interpretation, i.e., that the Lord's Table is for all who profess to be Christian by their deportment. In 1773, the previous year's decision was upheld by the Presbytery. And the following year the principle of free communion was again explained and defended. In its most concise form, Struthers quoted the principle of free communion as saying: "'as none but believers have a right to the holy supper, in the sight of God: so all believers have this right.'"[169] Another writer who defended the religious system of the Relief Church was Patrick Hutchison. Writing in 1779, Hutchison made the following statement regarding the Lord's Supper: "It is the Lord's table. . . . For whom then? For the children of God, not as they belong to any

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[168] Ibid., p. 233.

[169] Ibid., p. 316.

particular denomination of professors, but as they are his children, in reality, and appear to be so, by their deportment. It is the most daring presumption in any to deny the children's bread to the children of God."[170] Thus, throughout its history, the Relief Church steadfastly maintained the principle of free communion. Still, through 1843, it was the only branch of Presbyterianism in Scotland to offer free and open communion. Cunningham summarised the contribution of the Relief Church to the history of Presbyterianism in Scotland by emphasising its "large ideas" of Christian communion. "The Presbytery of Relief revived a truth that was ready to die, when they taught that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of sects, there was but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. The communion-table, said they, is spread not for the Burgher or the Anti-burgher, not for the Independent or the Episcopalian, not for the Churchman or the Dissenter, but simply for the Christian."[171]

The innovation in connection with the mode of administering the Lord's Supper which caused the most controversy was that of serving the elements to the people in their pews rather than at the traditional communion tables. When or where this change began is not known. For by the time that public attention was alerted to it, the innovation had already taken place in several churches in Western Scotland. During the last year of Thomas Chalmers' ministry in St. John's Church, Glasgow, the innovation was adopted in that parish. A certain number of middle pews in the lower part of the sanctuary were turned into communion tables. The paslmbook shelves on the back of these pews

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[170] Patrick Hutchison, Messiah's Kingdom, p. 73.

[171] John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, vol. II, p. 535.

were covered with white cloth. The elements were brought to a communion table which was placed in front of the pulpit and from which, according to custom, Dr. Chalmers presided over the distribution of the bread and the wine. This plan accommodated a much larger number of persons at a "table service." Therefore, the number of table services with the accompanying ministerial addresses was reduced. This arrangement seemed to achieve the goals of more competently serving the large number of communicants who crowded into St. John's Church and of abbreviating the great length of the entire communion service. Hanna testified that "this plan was followed to the great comfort of the worshippers in St. John's, and with a very general concurrence of public feeling in its favour."[172] However, as news of this innovation spread, a number of ministers in that area of Scotland became aroused to stop this practice. Using St. John's Church as the prime example, the opponents of the innovation presented the following overture to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in October, 1822:

> "Whereas, an Innovation has been lately introduced into some Churches, within the bounds of the Synod of Glasgow, and Ayr, in the mode of dispensing the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, namely, the distribution of the elements to the communicants sitting in pews, and not sitting about, or at, the Communion Table, according to the laws and practice of the Established Church of Scotland;--It is overtured to the very Rev. Synod, that they shall declare their disapprobation of this Innovation, as contrary to the purity and uniformity of worship presently authorized and practised in our National Church: that they shall enjoin every Presbytery, within their bounds, to take care that a Communion Table, according to the practice of the Church, be provided in every Church under their jurisdiction; and that they shall recommend to all the Ministers within their bounds, that they observe the fifteenth Act of the General Assembly,

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[172] William Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., vol. I, p. 647.

seventeen hundred and seven, entitled, Act against Innovations in the worship of God."[173]

Supporters of this overture primarily centered their case in the instructions given in the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, which read: ". . . the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the Minister is to begin the Action . . ."[174] They concluded that, according to tradition, the only valid obedience to the Directory was the practice of communicants sitting around the table facing each other as they communed. Dr. Chalmers explained the reason for the new practice and defended its legality to the Synod. Prior to the change in custom "the day of a sacrament in St. John's was a day of discomfort and almost intolerable suffering from the pressure and the stifling almost to suffocation, and the way in which every inch of progress to the tables was fought for by the crowd of competitors who, during the time of seven table services, stood wedged in the long but narrow access that led to them."[175] Pointing to the fact that the innovation allowed for a communion table from which the minister presided in the distribution of the elements, Chalmers admitted that the communicants were not seated so that they could face one another. However, he contended, the essential point was that the communicants were "all so placed as to look to the minister who addresses them. It is also true that they do not sit about a table, but they sit at a table, and about it or at it, is the express

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[173]James Begg, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[174]The Directory for the Public Worship of God, p. 309.

[175]Hanna, op. cit., p. 648.

utterance that is left to us by the words of our Directory."[176] After both sides had been heard by the Synod, the overture, which had been moved and seconded, was agreed to without a vote.

How well the churches heeded the overture of 1822 is evident from a treatise published by Dr. James Begg in 1824. Begg, who was a leading opponent of the innovation, entitled his work, A Treatise on the Use of the Communion Table in Celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The occasion of the essay was the fact that some of the ministers and churches within the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr had obviously disregarded the overture of 1822. Seeking to emphasise, from his point of view, the seriousness of the contemporary situation, Begg noted that in the churches in Glasgow, while some dispensed the elements according to the accepted custom, other parishes had adopted some form of the innovation. "In some churches the communicants sit in pews, according to the late innovation; in some churches there is a mixed mode of administration; part of the communicants receive the elements at the Communion Table, and part of them receive them sitting in pews . . . part of them do so in the pews in which they usually sit through the year, having occupied them during the time of the sermon preceeding; and part of them have not that indulgence, but go to pews in which they do not usually sit, but to which they are only admitted to communicate."[177] The minister of the New Monkland Church argued against these changes by appealing to the institution and the history of the sacrament. He advocated that the use of a Communion Table was in conformity with the example and intention of Christ when he instituted the Lord's Supper. According to Begg, the

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[176] Ibid., p. 649.

[177] Begg, op. cit., p. 63.

sacrament was a feast of love in which the believers commemorate and witness to the atoning death of Jesus Christ as a vicarious sacrifice. In this act the faithful testify to their love for Christ and to their love for each other as redeemed sinners. However, contended Begg, when communicants sit in pews with their backs turned to one another, there can be no visible witness to the sacrament as a feast of love. Next, Dr. Begg advocated that the use of the Communion Table was in conformity to the practice of celebrating the Lord's Supper during "the first and purest ages of the Christian Church." Referring to the writings of Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nyssen, he concluded that in those early days "the Communion Table was a part of the furniture of every church; that it was so placed that the communicants could surround, or compass it about; and that all the faithful, both men and women, both clergy and laity, without distinction, had access to it."[178] Finally, Dr. Begg appealed to the laws and authorized practice of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. To document his case, he referred to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the First Book of Discipline, the Book of Common Order, the struggle in the Westminster Assembly against Episcopalians and Independents, the Directory for Public Worship, and to the various acts of the General Assembly in 1639, 1641, 1695, 1697, and 1707. Historically, especially at the Westminster Assembly, the issue has been thoroughly debated and decided. It followed that it was the duty of Presbyteries to oversee the building of new churches to conform to every part of public worship according to the laws of the Church. "The authorized practice of the Church is the law in this case."[179]

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[178] Ibid., p. 27.

[179] Ibid., p. 67.

Furthermore, concluded Dr. Begg, judicatories must guard against every innovation which threatened the purity and uniformity of the Established form of worship. Failure to do so was a serious disobedience of the General Assembly Act of 1707 against innovations. Also, ministers who followed that innovation were violating their ordination vows to maintain and defend the doctrine and worship of the Church of Scotland.

Dr. Begg's opposition to the innovation found sufficient support within his own presbytery to send an overture to the General Assembly anent the mode of dispensing the Lord's Supper. The overture from the Presbytery of Hamilton was considered by the General Assembly on 23rd May, 1825. The minutes of that session recorded that during the discussion of the overture Dr. Begg "was heard upon the subject at great length."[180] At the end of the debate, the Assembly approved the conduct of the Presbytery of Hamilton in bringing the subject to the attention of the Church and found "that it is the law, and has been the immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland, to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people seated at or around a Communion Table or Tables; and they enjoin the Presbyteries of this Church, when churches are to be built, or to be new seated, to use their best endeavours to have a suitable table or tables provided for the solemn service of the Lord's Supper."[181] The decision of the Assembly was vague and inconclusive. On the one hand, it approved and recommended the traditional custom of dispensing the elements. On the other hand, it neither declared the innovation to

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[180] The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Edinburgh, the 19th Day of May, 1825, p. 34.

[181] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

be a violation of the law of the Church nor discouraged the innovating churches from continuing the new practice of serving the elements to the people seated in the pews. Years later in a lecture to students in Edinburgh, Thomas Chalmers commented upon this decision of the General Assembly. "When our venerable mother [the General Assembly], sitting in her collective wisdom, was called on to decide the quarrel that had broken out among her children, she allowed me, the one party, to continue the table-service in the way I had found to be most convenient; but, instead of laying aught like severity or rebuke upon the other, she, while disappointing them of their plea, dismissed them at the same time with a look of the most benignant complacency."[182]

The opponents of the innovation continued to pursue every possible means of stopping this new practice which Begg declared to be "really and truly an exclusion from the Communion Table."[183] Within the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the mode of dispensing the Lord's Supper continued to be a very prominent topic of debate. In 1827, the Synod came to the decision that in those churches where the sacrament was dispensed to people sitting in pews, this practice was not consistent with the laws and practice of the Church, and the enactment of the General Assembly of 1825. Thus, the Synod "enjoined the Presbytery of Glasgow to take all prudent steps to provide one or more suitable communion-tables in said churches, and to report to next meeting of Synod."[184] From this judgment, the Reverend Patrick Macfarlan and several others dissented. Macfarlan, the successor to Thomas Chalmers

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[182]Hanna, op. cit., p. 652.

[183]Begg, op. cit., p. 35.

[184]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Edinburgh, the 17th Day of May, 1827, p. 42.

at St. John's Church, had translated the following year, 1825, to St. Enoch's Church, Glasgow. Under his leadership, the dissent against the decision of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr was brought to the General Assembly in May, 1825. The Assembly heard the various parties involved in the complaint before debating the issue on the assembly floor. Finally, it was moved and unanimously passed:

> "that the General Assembly reverse the finding of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in so far as they purpose alterations upon the arrangements already made in certain churches within their bounds; and in all other respects find, That it is the law, and has been the immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland, to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people seated at or around a Communion Table or Tables; and they require the Presbyteries of this Church, when Churches are to be built, or to be new-seated, to use their best endeavours to have a suitable Table or Tables provided for the solemn service of the Lord's Supper."[185]

Again the decision of the General Assembly did not clearly declare victory or defeat for either side of the controversy. On this occasion the high court of the kirk once more counseled the Church to maintain the traditional mode of dispensing the communion elements to people sitting at specially provided tables. At the same time, the Assembly took action to protect the innovating churches from any efforts to prevent them from continuing the practice of serving the people while they were seated in the pews. Thus, as that early period of the nineteenth century passed, the issue remained unsettled. The innovation had been tried and adopted by a few churches. It had survived the tests of opposition before church courts at every level. Yet another innovation had become established.

During this period of the nineteenth century, another controversy began to smoulder which would not become ablaze until the middle

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[185] Ibid.

years of the century. Religious opinion in Scotland began to react against the prominently heavy drinking which had characterised the nation during the previous century. By 1850, an editorial in The Scotsman claimed that "Scotland is, pretty near at least, the most drunken nation on the face of the earth is a fact never quite capable of denial."[186] In reacting to this particular national trait, voices of protest within the church began to be raised against the use of fermented wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Only briefly mentioning this controversy, Edgar explained that "the wine commonly used now is not the same kind of wine as was used very long ago in Scotland. The wine now in use is port wine, the wine used long ago was claret, and the quantity of it consumed at a sacrament was enormous."[187] Just when the dispute over fermented wine vs. non-fermented wine began is uncertain. It has been speculated that the issue was beginning to be raised and that convictions were starting to be formed at the turn of the century. For example, Hunter made the following appraisal:

> "It is not surprising, in view of the deplorable drinking habits of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the scandals occasioned by them which kept kirk sessions busy, that voices began to be raised in urgent protest against the use in the sacred rite of that which was so largely responsible, at least among the better classes, for demoralising consequences. When exactly the movement for the substitution of a non-alcoholic liquor began does not appear, but the current was running strongly by the beginning of last century [19th century], not only in the country, but in England and America, and in all Churches except the Anglican."[188]

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[186] The Scotsman, 22nd May, 1850.

[187] Edgar, op. cit., p. 145.

[188] Records of the SCH Society, vol. III, p. 171.

It was also during the early years of the nineteenth century that the temperance movement began in Scotland. The conception and growth of temperance societies originated in the leadership of two elders of the Church of Scotland -- John Dunlop, a lawyer, and William Collins, a publisher, who served as an elder under Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow. Between 1829 and 1830, one hundred new temperance societies were formed and were credited with 15,000 members. The proclamation of the avowed purpose of these organizations was bound to contribute to the increasing reaction against the use of alcoholic drink at any time and at any occasion. The goal of the temperance reformation was two-fold: (1) the abstinence from spirits, including wine; and (2) the abolishment of customs, events, and all other usages for drinking.[189] Thus, there is evidence that the open controversy of the mid-1800's regarding the serving of port wine at Communion had its roots in the activities of the evangelical revival of the early nineteenth century.

The issues and innovations raised during this period relative to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland were in conformity with the prevailing concerns of the churches at that time. Therefore, deliberations centered in the area of practical theology rather than that of systematic theology. Primary attention was given to the laws and immemorial usage of administering the sacrament instead of to doctrine and creed. How frequently the sacrament should be celebrated, the proper mode of dispensing the elements -- these and similar considerations commanded the attention of churchmen. As they deliberated upon these issues, the value and effectiveness of the traditional "occasion" or Holy Fair

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[189]For a survey of the temperance movement in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century, see Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development, 1780-1870, esp. pp. 81-98.

began to be tried and tested. Though the process would be slow, the transition had started which would change the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper from an annual religious festival to a more frequent liturgical rite.

CHAPTER III

REVIVAL IN CERTAIN SCOTTISH PARISHES BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AT HOME, 1797 - 1808

"The time is short; souls are perishing; and Christians ought to embrace every opportunity of warning their brethren to flee from the wrath to come."[1] Sincerely convinced and motivated by that conviction, James Alexander Haldane and two associates, John Aikman and Joseph Rate, left Edinburgh on 12th July, 1797, to begin an evangelistic tour of the Highlands which was unprecedented in the history of Presbyterianism in Scotland. The unique feature of this four-month itineracy was that it was an independent effort by three unordained laymen.

Captain Haldane (1768-1851), as he was commonly known at that time, had joined the navy at the age of seventeen. During his nine-year career in that service, he rose to the position of captain of a ship. He gained a reputation for his great skill as a seaman and for his proven ability to defend himself in various situations, including the practice of duelling. Unlike many of his comrades, Haldane found time to cultivate an interest in reading. He also began to reflect upon his own religious condition. After a while, he reached the point where "'I was now determined to begin to make religion a matter of serious consideration. I was sure I was not right. I had never joined at the Lord's Supper, being formerly restrained partly by

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[1] J. A. Haldane (J. Aikman and J. Rate), Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn, 1797, p. 35.

conscience, while living in open sin, and partly by want of convenient opportunities.'"[2] To David Bogue[3] Haldane expressed his desire to be admitted to the Lord's Table. In addition to discussing religion with the young seaman, Dr. Bogue gave Haldane several books to study. Haldane began to make an effort to attend public worship and to enter into the practice of prayer. His faith was sprinkled with doubts. As he developed the habit of prayer, he related that he was careful about the supplications and resolutions which were offered to God "in case my prayer should be heard."[4] Among the supplications at that time was the question of whether or not to continue his career in the navy. Thus, in 1794, James Haldane retired from the sea and returned to Scotland where he and his wife established a home in Edinburgh after residing for short periods of time at Stirling Castle and at Airthrey.

As James Haldane continued his search for true religion, he made friends with a number of persons of the Evangelical party of the Established Church. Particularly influential upon Haldane's gradual

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[2]Alexander Haldane, Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane, p. 70.

[3]David Bogue (1750-1825) was a former licentiate of the Church of Scotland who had moved to England as a teacher after being unsuccessful in obtaining a parish in Scotland. In 1771, he was ordained to an Independent chapel at Gosport. He added to his pastoral duties in 1780, the work of a tutor at an institution which prepared men for the ministry in other independent churches. In 1795, Dr. Bogue founded the London Missionary Society. The following year he officially left the Church of Scotland. Thereafter, he participated in the inauguration of the British and Foreign Bible Society and in the Religious Tract Society. A friend and associate of Robert Haldane, Bogue volunteered to be among the first to join Haldane's scheme of establishing missionary work in India. When that proposal was prevented from becoming a reality, Bogue continued for the remainder of his life as a leader of the London Missionary Society.

[4]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 70.

growth were his minister, Dr. Walter Buchanan of the Canongate Church, and the Reverend David Black, minister of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh. In 1795, James Haldane declared his acceptance of Jesus Christ. The following year he accompanied Buchanan's good friend, Charles Simeon, on a three-week tour of the Highlands during which he frequently listened to the extemporaneous sermons of the English evangelist and assisted in distributing tracts from the London Tract Society. During this same period, Haldane became actively interested in John Campbell's work of establishing Sabbath schools in the Edinburgh area. Campbell made the interesting observation that upon one occasion when his friend accompanied him to the opening of a new Sabbath evening school, "'Mr. Haldane had not the courage to address a few words to the assembly . . . but these were the days of small things: orators, except in pulpits, were very rare. At that time I had never heard a layman speak at a public meeting in my life.'"[5] As an experiment in establishing schools in other parts of Scotland, Campbell and Haldane planned a tour to the western part of the country as far as Greenock. Early in 1797, the two set out in a one-horse Chaise, distributing tracts to nearly everyone they met. During their six-day journey, they called on ministers of various denominations to introduce them to the plan of inaugurating religious classes in those parishes. In Glasgow a meeting was organized at which Campbell and Haldane presented the need for religious instruction to be given to youth and described the course followed in establishing Sabbath evening schools in Edinburgh. At the end of the meeting, a society was formed for the purpose of creating such schools in the Glasgow

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[5]Robert Philip, The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises, of the Rev. John Campbell, p. 126.

area. Similar meetings were conducted in Paisley and Greenock. And in both cases societies were founded. Three months later Campbell exclaimed that reports from the west revealed "'that the result of this one week's exertion was the formation of sixty sabbath evening schools!'"[6]

During John Campbell's labours in Edinburgh, two of his friends at Gilmerton intimated that the churches had neglected to minister to that collier village near Edinburgh. Campbell appealed without success to "Dissenting ministers of different denominations" to supply Gilmerton with preaching. Thus, when Campbell met Joseph Rate, a preacher from Dr. Bogue's Academy in Gosport, he made arrangements for the Englishman to preach on Sunday evenings in the thatched townhouse at Gilmerton. On his first preaching engagement, Mr. Rate was accompanied to Gilmerton by J. A. Haldane and Mr. John Aikman, a retired merchant from Jamaica who had returned to his native land to study divinity at Edinburgh. After his second Sunday at Gilmerton, Rate was called to leave Edinburgh for a few days. Hence, the question arose as to whom would supply that preaching point during Mr. Rate's absence. Mr. Campbell was committed to his Sabbath evening schools. Thus, after some consideration, Haldane made a proposition with Aikman whereby the latter would preach on the first, and probably only, Sabbath of Rate's absence and that Haldane would supply the pulpit on the following Sunday, if needed. On Sunday evening, 29th April, 1797, John Aikman, an unordained divinity student, preached his first public sermon. Unexpectedly, Mr. Rate had not returned by the following Sabbath day. Therefore, as had been agreed upon, James Haldane, a layman, preached for the first time on 6th May, 1797. As it turned out,

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[6]Ibid., p. 130.

Rate was detained in England for several weeks requiring the continuing services of Haldane and Aikman. As the weeks passed, Campbell noted the progress of the two lay-preachers: "'From its being an object of terror to preach, it became a pleasant employment, which they showed by preaching alternately on a week-day evening, as well as on the sabbath. At length Mr. Rate returned, but the two brethren were so initiated, that the three took their regular turns in preaching.'"[7] This was the origin of a phenomenon in the history of religion in Scotland -- revivals in kirk parishes by lay preachers.

Very soon the three associates began to contemplate making a tour over northern Scotland. According to Haldane himself, their initial purpose was "'not to preach, but to establish schools.'"[8] Their primary preparations entered in the quantity printing of religious tracts and in a number of prayer meetings conducted in behalf of the proposed tour. "'Meetings to pray for their success were not neglected; for without the divine blessing, all connected with the journey were fully convinced that no real permanent good would be effected.'"[9] A "strong horse" and a "roomy chaise" were purchased to transport the three men, their necessary belongings, and a portion of tracts. The remainder of the tracts were parcelled and sent in advance to several different towns. Thus equipped, three laymen -- a retired sea captain, a former West Indian merchant, and an Independent preacher -- left from Edinburgh on Wednesday, 12th July, 1797. Before the first day was over, the tour had established itself as being primarily one of itinerant preaching. As soon as they

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[7] Ibid., p. 133.

[8] Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 238.

[9] Philip, op. cit.

reached North-ferry they "preached in a schoolroom to about fifty persons."[10] And, when they arrived that night at Keltiebridge, they immediately "sent an intimation through the neighbourhood that there would be sermon next morning at eight o'clock."[11] The evolved purpose and pattern of their work was presented in a "Letter to the Editor from the Persons engaged in the Scottish Itinerancy" which appeared in the Missionary Magazine[12] soon after the tour had begun. In this anonymous article it was announced that a missionary journey to the northern area of Scotland had begun "not to disseminate matters of doubtful disputation, or to make converts to this or the other sect, but to endeavour to stir up their brethren to flee from the wrath to come, and not rest in an empty profession of religion. Accordingly, they are now employed in preaching the word of life; distributing pamphlets, and endeavouring to excite their Christian brethren, to employ the talents committed to their charge; especially by erecting

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[10] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 37.

[11] Ibid.

[12] See Philip, op. cit., pp. 192-194; J. J. Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing, pp. 81-90, 124-127. Conceived and first issued in 1796 by John Campbell and an Edinburgh printer, Mr. Pillans, the Missionary Magazine was edited during its first three years by Greville Ewing. During that period, its circulation reached nearly 6,000 copies per month. The Missionary Magazine carried the subtitle, "a Periodical Monthly Publication, intended as a Repository of Discussion, and Intelligence respecting the Progress of the Gospel throughout the World." Its avowed purpose was to disseminate "all the information which they can procure respecting attempts to propagate the Gospel of Jesus Christ." This periodical signaled, in many respects, the signs of the times regarding the trend of religion in Scotland at the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. It was the private undertaking of a number of individuals, many of whom were laymen. As such, it was catholic in spirit. Its profits were distributed to a variety of non-sectarian missionary societies and to a number of religious denominations such as the Baptists and the Moravians. In the years prior to the Edinburgh Instructor, the Missionary Magazine was the published voice of evangelicalism in Scotland. In later years its name was changed to that of the Christian Herald, and, subsequently, to the Scottish Congregational Magazine.

schools for the instruction of youth."[13] A further procedure which they frequently adopted on Sundays was to attend morning worship to evaluate the content of the preaching in the parish. Quite often they were dissatisfied with the sermon and sought to create an opportunity whereby they could point out to the parishioners the errors which the minister had proclaimed. An example of this took place on the first Sunday of the tour. Having visited and preached in Perth, Cupar, Meigle, and Glamis, the three itinerants arrived in Kirriemuir on Saturday evening, 15th July. The sacramental season was in progress. They reported that someone there informed them "that Kirriemuir was much in need of the gospel."[14] Therefore, they agreed to remain in that town for the Lord's day. On the Sacrament Sabbath morning at eight o'clock, the itinerants preached in the market-place to approximately 200 people. Then they attended the day's services of public worship, including the dispensing of the Lord's Supper. With the exception of the afternoon sermon by an Antiburgher clergyman, the itinerants found the preaching of the local minister and his guest assistants to be unacceptable. Particularly calling attention to the fact that the Kirriemuir pastor read the sermon and repeated passages which he considered important, Haldane and his associates reported that "the sermon did not appear to us glad tidings to sinners. The object of it was to shew, that the Son of God came into the world to instruct and enable men to destroy the works of the devil. He represented the gospel as a contract between God and man, of which the equitable condition, he said, was repentance and sincere, although

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[13] J. J. Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing, p. 131.

[14] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 38.

imperfect obedience, which God, he added, was too just and too good not to accept."[15] They further cited a table service by one of the guest ministers. "This person, to guard the communicants against the commission of sin, told them, that if they fell into any after that day, there remained no more sacrifice for them."[16] The reaction of the visiting lay-preachers was manifested in the evening when the day's services in the established church had been dismissed. The two itinerants (the third having proceeded to Forfar that day) stationed themselves at the top of a walled stair in the marketplace which the adjourned congregation passed. From that vantage point an open-air service was conducted for which, the itinerants claimed, approximately 1,000 persons stopped to listen. The lay-preachers sought to proclaim the true Gospel and to refute the sermons which they had heard earlier in the day. They endeavoured to point out that the Gospel "was a dispensation wholly of grace, and that it was completely contradictory, both to scripture and to fact, to represent man as capable of doing any thing in order to render himself acceptable to God."[17] Though the term was not used by them, the lay-preachers were reacting against anything that sounded to be from the scheme of federal theology. Words such as "contract" and any implications that forgiveness was conditional to repentance was a dangerous threat to the covenant of grace and the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atonement achieved by Christ not works by man. Thus they charged that the discourse of the local minister was inconsistent with the Biblical account of sin and with the doctrine of the complete atonement of

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[15] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[16] Ibid., p. 39.

[17] Ibid.

Christ. The itinerants "told the people plainly, that what they had heard was not the gospel, and urged them to search the scriptures for themselves, mentioning at the same time, that our only motive in making these observations, was love to their immortal souls, whose final state we were convinced depended upon their belief or rejection of the gospel."[18]

Thus, wherever the itinerants went, they preached, distributed tracts, and, where opportunity was given, presented their plan for establishing Sabbath-evening schools. As they journeyed, they used a variety of methods, from town-criers to the lighting of signal fires, to announce their arrival and to intimate the time and place at which they would preach and circulate their pamphlets. In their conversations with people they often received information about the state of religion in some of the places they visited. Who these informants were was not revealed; and how accurate their information was has been difficult to assess. It is evident that the reports upon which the itinerants relied were those "friends of the truth" who were critical of the clergy, especially of those ministers who could be identified with Moderatism. Thus, when the lay-preachers entered a parish, their limited foreknowledge was information supplied by biased reports. Like their informants, Haldane and his companions were quite critical of the clergy. On the whole, their report revealed that most of the small number of Highland ministers who, in their opinion, preached the gospel were those of the Antiburgher branch of Presbyterianism. When such ministers were discovered, they were credited with proclaiming the truth. Otherwise, on nearly every successive Lord's Day, the events which had occurred at Kirriemuir were repeated in another

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[18] Ibid., p. 40.

parish.[19]

The pace which the three laymen maintained during the entire tour was exhaustive. Daily they preached two, three, four times and often in as many different parishes. Sometimes they would part company for a day or two so that they could preach in as many places as possible. From Kirrmuir they directed their course to Aberdeen, and from Aberdeen they journeyed to Inverness, preaching in no less than fifteen towns and villages between the two cities. At Inverness it was decided that Mr. Rate would remain there to labour in that district of the mainland while Haldane and Aikman would make a tour of the Orkney Islands and return by way of Caithness, Sutherland and "Rossshires". The crossing from Burghead to Kirkwall was made with merchants from Elgin on 11th and 12th August. So dedicated were the laymen to their self-appointed mission that they conducted a preaching service for the merchants and sailors during the evening of that overnight voyage. They made Kirkwall their headquarters for touring the islands. As they had been informed in advance, a fair was to begin in Kirkwall two days after their arrival. During the six-day festival, the two men preached nine times to estimated crowds of from 2,000 to 4,000. At the end of the first day they noted that "many of the people appeared much affected, and in tears."[20] On the last day of the fair they attested: "We have much reason to remark the goodness of God in disposing the people, the whole time the fair lasted, to continue with regularity, in their attendance. The fair was in a measure emptied

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[19]Ibid., pp. 45, 54-55, 58, 66-67, 68-69, 70-71, 72, 87-89. Dates and places mentioned were: 29th July at Cullen; 13th August at Kirkwall; 20th August at Kirkwall; 3rd September at Thurso; 10th September at Thurso; 24th September at Thurso; 1st October at Wick; 22nd October at Inverness.

[20]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., 56.

every evening."[21] The next day, in addition to attending worship in the Established Church, the laymen preached four times -- once in the morning, at 1:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon, and at 6:00 in the evening. At the latter two occasions the listeners were calculated to be nearly 6,000. They continued to preach at Kirkwall while making one and two-day excursions to other towns and other islands. Then, on 23rd August, they separated for six days to tour the northern isles. Each taking a companion with him from Kirkwall, Haldane journeyed to the group of islands to the northeast while Aikman toured those in the northwest. When reunited, they completed their itinerancy of the Orkney Islands by the end of the month, arriving at Caithness on 31st August. At one point during their island tour, the Haldanes' biographer claimed that James Haldane and John Aikman preached a total of fifty-five times in ten days.

During a two-mile walk from Egilsay to the disembarking port at Hoonah, Mr. Aikman bruised his leg. By the time the companions reached Thurso the wound was so painful that Aikman had to be confined there for four weeks. The result was that six weeks were spent in Caithness rather than the fortnight which had been planned. Though restricted, Aikman was not completely inactive. At the house where he was convalescing a congregation of from 50 to 100 gathered each evening to hear him speak. In the meantime, Haldane travelled about the ten parishes of Caithness and made a short trip to the Orkney Islands of Walls and Flotta. On 25th September, Haldane moved to Wick to labour in that district of Caithness until his companion was ready to travel. Aikman rejoined Haldane at Wick on 9th October. Two days later, they journeyed southward for a brief tour of Sutherland, where

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[21] Ibid., p. 58.

they were disturbed by the melancholy state of religion, encouraged by the earnestness of fellowship meetings, and frustrated because in certain places the people did not understand the English language. The two itinerants spent six days in the county. Finally, on Wednesday, 18th October, Haldane and Aikman arrived in Inverness where they were happily reunited with Mr. Rate. Though often hindered by rains and indisposed for a week himself, Rate reported that he had preached to gatherings of up to 2,000 and had been able to visit several other parishes in the district.

The three companions remained in Inverness for the remainder of the week, preaching each morning and evening when the weather allowed it. Then on Sunday, 22nd October, they launched their homeward journey. Their itinerary was, in general, a retracing of the course they had charted on their northward trek. Though they essentially visited the same parishes and maintained their original pace of averaging three preaching services per day, their journal implies that the crowds attracted to them were slightly less than those attending their northward journey. The journal makes no observation of this, leaving the matter open to speculation. Nevertheless, where figures are available for comparison, there does appear to be a trend of smaller congregations assembling to hear the lay-preachers on their homeward tour.[22] Also at two localities where they had held services on their outward journey (preaching twice in Bervie

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[22] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., pp. 37, 38, 40, 46, 89, 93.

Outward Journey	Place	Inward Journey
200	Cupar	50; 300; 400
200	Glamis	100
200; 1,000; 400	Kerrymuir	400; 500
100; 300	Forfar	200; 30 to 40
600	Elgin	300

and four times in Portsoy), they were "unable to collect a congregation" at either place.[23] Certainly the novelty of their initial visits drew many listeners whose curiosity was sufficiently satisfied so that they felt no further need to attend the laymen's services. Thus, their congregations in October and early November were more like-minded with the itinerants and more localised with regard to church affiliation. The policy of public intimation of the time and place of their preaching was continued. The majority of their services continued to be held in the open air. However, a higher portion of services were held indoors. Granting the possibility that the autumn climate might well have necessitated their preaching under shelter, the buildings obtained tended to be those belonging to a particular religious group rather than those which could be considered neutral ground. In July they had preached indoors six times -- the hospital at Perth, the Masons' hall at Cupar, the town hall in Brechin, a "meeting-house" in Montrose[24], a chapel (likely the Gaelic chapel) at Aberdeen, and in a Relief meeting at Banff. During their homeward tour, the laymen preached indoors on nineteen occasions. Eight of these were within the Relief Church, two in a Burgher facility, and two in a Methodist building.[25] Their journal also indicates that

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[23] Ibid., pp. 41, 44, 90, 92. (Also, near Aberdeen one of the itinerants found it "impracticable to collect a congregation" at Kintore and, thus, did not preach there. p. 92.)

[24] Ibid., p. 41. Possibly the same Burgher meeting-house where they preached on 31st October and 1st November. They had applied for the use of the town-hall but "were refused on the ground that they had already enough of the gospel in Montrose." However, in October when they returned, they were informed that the town-hall had been committed in July for the use of the Quakers.

[25] The other sites of their indoor services were the Gaelic chapel in Aberdeen, a school-house at Auchterarder, and Mason-lodges in Keith, Huntly, Stonehaven, and Cupar.

their fellowship and private conversations had become localised primarily to those persons in the secession churches. From the time of their departure from Inverness to the end of their account there is no more mention of the Established Church nor is there any indication that they attended public worship in any kirk on their southward journey, except for those in which they themselves preached.

The three itinerating lay-preachers completed their tour just a few days short of being gone four months. The journey had been planned as an experiment. The result of that test was that for Haldane and his companions the die had been cast which would lead to a short but important movement in the history of religion in Scotland. Haldane, Aikman, and Rate reviewed their experiment and noted two outstanding factors from their experience. First, they were sincerely distressed by the state of religion in the Highlands. At the beginning of their tour as the passed through Perth, Cupar, and into southern Angus, their occasional observations were of the aloofness of the people, the carelessness amidst the gatherings, and the minor expressions of derision directed at them. However, by the time they reached Inverness, the itinerants were making sweeping generalizations about the "total indifference that prevails throughout a great part of Scotland, not only to religion, but even to morals."[26] They decreed that "religion appears in all these places to be at a low ebb."[27] They were alarmed to discover Thomas Paine's Age of Reason being circulated in Forfar. They were disturbed to see the effects of children working in cotton mills in Montrose. They were appalled to find at Fraserburgh "one of the most careless and unconcerned congregations

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[26] Ibid., p. 44.

[27] Ibid., p. 45.

that we had seen, or did see upon the whole journey."[28] Of the small group which gathered to hear the lay-preachers, not a single person joined them in singing the psalms. The itinerants did not stop in Fraserburgh on their return home. The lay-preachers were mystified by the reaction of one lady who, upon being informed that the tracts being distributed were on the subject of the status of a person's soul, fled from them. In the Orkney Islands, Haldane and Aikman showed more sympathy to the religious condition of the people. They credited the low state of religion primarily to ignorance and neglect. They recognized the problems of serving parishes which included more than one island. They noted that some church buildings were so deteriorated as to be non-functional. In one parish they encountered a minister who had been afflicted with palsy for six years, during which time he had only been able to preach three times. Therefore, the laymen diagnosed the situation as one in which the people had been deprived of the gospel. "The manners and conduct of the people," they reported, "as in every other place, are corrupted in a due proportion to their ignorance of the gospel."[29] It was Caithness which seemed most depressing of all the counties visited. After their extended stay in that area, Haldane and Aikman attested that they "heard of very few instances of the pure gospel of Jesus Christ being faithfully preached."[30] They charged that "it is an universal practice in this county, to commute for a sum of money the public profession of repentance, enjoined by the Church of Scotland to be made by persons guilty of adultery or fornication. When such persons

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[28] Ibid., p. 43.

[29] Ibid., p. 52.

[30] Ibid., p. 76.

have paid the fine, they are admitted to the communion-table, without scruple. When such practices as these take place to any extent, no wonder that the land mourn, and that the Lord threaten to visit us with his sore judgments."[31] At Thurso in Caithness the laymen were appalled to be informed "that this town, containing about 2,000 souls, has not been catechised these forty years. It is not therefore a matter of surprise, that men are here perishing for lack of knowledge."[32] Only occasionally did the lay-preachers make note of opposition to their tour. At Aberdeen they reported having their authority to preach questioned. At Elgin they mentioned that the magistrates refused to allow the town bell-man to intimate their services. They implied that some disturbances took place when they preached at Fochabers. They also admitted that some criticisms of their preaching and their right to preach was voiced in Inverness. Nevertheless, the account by the itinerants does not draw attention to any abuse which they personally encountered during their journey. Hence, it is noteworthy to find an eye-witness account of an incident which took place when James Haldane was preaching at Thurso. The narrative was included in a letter which was sent to Mr. Aikman's sister. It described a Sabbath evening service which an estimated 4,000 people attended. Mr. Haldane, recalled Mrs. MacNeil[33], "took occasion to show the fallacy of the doctrine preached in the forenoon.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 74.

[33] Mrs. MacNeil, the author of the letter, was the wife of the Rev. Neil MacNeil, a Congregational minister at Elgin when this letter was written in 1857. Mrs. MacNeil was the daughter of Mr. A. Millar who was a host to James Haldane when he toured Wick. The event described in the letter occurred when the then Miss Millar was visiting Thurso in 1797 and went to hear Mr. Haldane preach.

I was standing beside a number of the genteel people, but not religious people. Some of the gentlemen called out, 'Stone him!' others, 'Stop him!' However, no person obeyed their commands, and Mr. Haldane went on with his subject. At last these gentry all left the place, and I was very glad to get rid of them."[34] It can hardly be imagined that this was an unique event. That being so, it was a credit to the sincerity of the laymen that they steadfastly focused concern upon the spiritual state of the people to whom they sought to minister instead of drawing attention to any personal hardships they faced. There was no evidence that their discouragement over the Highlands and islands was nurtured by a martyr complex.

From the viewpoint of the lay-preachers, the chief cause of the low state of religion which they witnessed was the work of the large proportion of parish ministers. In their journal they assailed the clergy with a sweeping analogy which asserted that with "the fountain being thus corrupted, it is not possible that the streams can be pure."[35] The pattern and the frequency of their opposition to ordained preachers during the tour has already been noted. The content of the clergy's sermons which the itinerants attacked is taken up later in this chapter. It remains sufficient at this point to note the lay-preachers' indictment of resident ministers and to record their own defense for the manner in which they publicly reproved the clergy. It was not only the preaching with which the itinerants found fault. They also admonished ministers for failing to carry out certain other duties of the pastoral office. Failure to catechise the parish, extended absences following attendance at the General Assembly,

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[34]David Beaton, Ecclesiastical History of Caithness, p. 155.

[35]J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 44.

indiscriminate admissions to the Lord's Supper, and the dangers of receiving a stipend as a minister while receiving pay for the persuit of a second occupation -- these were specifically entered as tokens of evidence of the laxity among many ministers. Regarding minister's stipends, these lay-preachers, who were able to be self-supporting, criticised the opinion of some who advocated that ministers should be afforded a higher standard of living than their congregations. The itinerants suggested that if a minister accepted a stipend without condition as being adequate, then his time was committed exclusively to those duties of the pastoral office. Likewise, they recommended that "if a man in any other line of life, become a preacher, he may lawfully, we apprehend, continue to attend on his business, but in such a case his ministerial duties should be a labour of love."[36]

It is not difficult to appreciate the fact that the lay-preachers were especially criticised for their attacks upon ministers during their tour. Haldane and his companions believed that this was the principal objection to their various activities on the journey. Therefore, in the introduction of their journal they sought to justify their actions. First, they appealed to Scripture for support of their policy relating to ministers. They noted that Jesus had publicly rebuked Pharisees, Scribes, lawyers, and others who were hypocritical or who taught false doctrine. It was further documented that the apostles, especially Paul, warned Christians against those who preached a false doctrine. Next, the laymen employed an analogy to vindicate their position. If a person visited a country afflicted with a plague, and he recognised that some individuals who claimed to be physicians were giving patients false security and were prescribing

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[36] Ibid., p. 20.

poison instead of medicine, would it be enough to merely supply good medicine? Or, should not the patients be also warned of the fatal effects of the poison which was offered them? Similarly, claimed the itinerants, they found unconverted men on the brink of destruction. "We met with ministers who were trifling with their cases, leading them to trust in refuges of lies, and teaching them to put their own sincere obedience in the place of Christ's finished work."[37] Hence, the lay-preachers were convinced that they must do more than proclaim the true gospel. Nevertheless, couldn't they have attempted to speak privately to the ministers? After all, Scripture contains the exhortation that the Christian who is offended by a brother should go to him and tell him. But the laymen discarded that text as inapplicable on the grounds that it was only relevant in the relationships between fellow Christians. "We can never acknowledge a man as a Christian brother who perverts the gospel of Christ,"[38] they decreed. In addition, they assumed that the ministers would only have dismissed them as "insolent and fanatical." They also rationalised that their singularly best occasion for preaching to the people was as the congregation was leaving the church. This opportunity would have been missed if the itinerants had detained themselves by speaking to the parish minister. Thus, they discarded that method as a "forlorn hope." And there is no evidence that they ever attempted that tactic during their entire journey. Another question asked by critics of the lay-preachers was: What should the people of a parish do if the gospel is not proclaimed from their kirk? The itinerants reply was that Christians should not abstain from gathering together on the first

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[37] Ibid., p. 23.

[38] Ibid., p. 24.

day of the week. However, they were neither bound to a particular meeting place nor to specific ceremonies. Therefore, Christians who could not hear sound doctrine from their ministers would be better off to meet among themselves for the reading of Scripture and for corporate prayer. The laymen emphatically answered: "we hesitate not to say it would give us pleasure to learn, that the hearers of every minister, whose sermons we condemned as unscriptural, had left him."[39] Haldane, Aikman, and Rate concluded their apologetic regarding their conduct towards parish ministers by offering their dilemma to their critics for an alternative answer to the one which had led them to the activities which, they admitted, were "the most unpleasant service" of the journey. Their sole object, they posited, was "to see ministers throughout the country so faithful and laborious, that lay-preaching may become less necessary."[40] The implication was plain. Haldane and his companions had become convinced that until ministers proclaimed and taught what the itinerants believed to be sound doctrine, lay-preaching must be carried on. Indeed, the die had been cast.

One indelible impression made upon the lay-preachers was of the deplorable state of religion in the Highlands, which they credited primarily as the fruit of unfaithful ministers. The second outstanding factor about the tour was on the positive side. The itinerants were deeply impressed by the favourable responses they received from so many people. The phenomenon of lay-preaching occurred at a time when lay people had begun to assert themselves. The Revolution period had deeply implanted a concept of filial loyalty to the

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., p. 28.

Established Church. The two secessions were a break in this attitude but not by any means the breakdown of it. Many evangelicals during the second half of the eighteenth century found themselves in an increasingly frustrating position. On the one hand, they maintained a strong attachment to the National Church. This was especially true in the Highlands where the secession churches were very slow to make inroads. Haldane and his companions noted that in some places an Antiburgher or Relief congregation was just beginning while in many other parishes the Established Church was the only kirk. They also remarked that there were no Burgher churches in the Highlands beyond Aberdeen. On the other hand, there was growing dissatisfaction among evangelicals with their ministers. A trend gradually had begun whereby laymen were beginning to attend the preaching services of ministers whom they considered to be proclaiming the true gospel. The lay-preachers noted this tendency during their tour. For example, they sympathised with several individuals at Thurso "who, though they were accustomed chiefly to hear in the Secession, did not join their communion, but still adhered in this respect to the established Church."[41] Thus, some evangelicals were not only going outside their parish to attend public worship, but they would also attend the ministrations of another denomination. The movement of lay people was also manifested in the evolution of fellowship meetings and missionary societies. Participants in these groups often included those of various denominations. And, unless there was an ordained preacher of strong evangelical principles in the district, these societies existed completely independent of ministerial guidance. At Dornoch in Sutherland, the lay-preachers credited the well-attended fellowship

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[41] Ibid., p. 74.

meetings as being the only encouraging sign of religion in that area. The meetings there were held once every two or three weeks in a house that had been built specifically for that purpose. Speaking generally of this subject, the Journal contained the following brief history of the movement.

> "The meetings here referred to are of long standing. Their origin is not well known, but it is thought that they commenced about the time of the revolution. They generally met at first in the minister's house, or in some private house in the parish. The parochial fellowship-meetings are now all so numerous, that they meet in church. The minister acts as moderator. He begins with singing, and then prays. In many places, especially if the meeting be thin, he reads a portion of Scripture and explains it. He then asks if any person has a question, or case of conscience, to propose for the consideration of those who are to speak at the meeting. A passage of Scripture is then mentioned, and a question proposed from it, relative to experimental religion, by some person present. The moderator elucidates the passage, and states the question as intelligibly as possible. The speakers then deliver their sentiments with an earnestness suited to the importance of the subject, and the moderator collects their different ideas, corrects any thing that may be improperly stated, and gives his own opinion. The man who proposes the question never speaks to it. In many places there is a prayer offered up about the middle of the service. One of the speakers prays after the service is over, and a psalm is sung."[42]

For an example of groups concerned for the progress of missions, the lay-preachers described a gathering at Nairn where, at their monthly meeting, "Christians of different denominations join in prayer for the success of the gospel, and for a blessing upon those exertions which are being made by the different Missionary Societies."[43] By the time the lay-preachers had reached Sutherland on their itinerary, they were convinced that in many places these various groups were the

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[42] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[43] Ibid., p. 48.

central means of maintaining and propagating true religion. Hence, these societies had, to a certain extent, prepared the way for the lay-preaching experiment. They had created an atmosphere in which Haldane and his associates were wholly welcomed and encouraged. In his cognitive study, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688 to 1800, John MacInnes has summarized the developing position of the evangelical laymen in these words: " . . . from 1750 the godly laity of the Highlands, rather than the clergy, are the tenacious defenders of what they conceive to be the true Evangelical tradition. In this role the laity, with or without clerical championship, showed that they could act as an organized body under their own lay leaders, and conduct what amounted to an anti-clerical campaign."[44] For the lay-preachers, the time was ripe for their tour. The new element of ardent evangelical laymen found in Haldane, Aikman, and Rate the aggressive, enthusiastic leadership which they were seeking. Literally thousands and thousands of people in the Highlands and in the Orkney isles attended the services. Undoubtedly there were many in those crowds who were merely curious and indifferent. Also, as has already been pointed out, there were those who attended the services to oppose the lay-preaching. But the fact remains that there was evident support and sizeable enthusiasm for the itinerants nearly everywhere they travelled. Though not in sympathy with the endeavour, Andrew J. Campbell credited the movement undertaken by Haldane and his associates as "important historically as an outstanding manifestation of the new zeal which had been set in motion."[45] The

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[44]John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688 to 1800, pp. 98-99.

[45]Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, p. 160.

itinerants themselves returned to Edinburgh greatly encouraged. They concluded that "the people, almost in every place, seem willing to receive, and thankful for instruction. The fields are truly white to harvest."[46]

While James Haldane was touring northern Scotland, his elder brother, Robert, was attempting to organize a missionary journey to India. Robert had been converted gradually to Christianity after being aroused by the events and ideas of the French Revolution which caused him "to consider everything anew." In 1796, Robert Haldane joined the London Missionary Society which had been founded by his friend, Dr. David Bogue. Thereafter, R. Haldane concentrated his efforts upon the necessary arrangements for a missionary expedition to India. Stopped from fulfilling his ambition by the failure to receive proper permission from the authorities in India, Robert turned his attention and active support to missionary work at home. On 20th December, 1797, James and Robert Haldane, John Aikman, Joseph Rate, and several other interested persons met in Edinburgh to discuss the means by which the work begun by the tour of the lay-preachers could be followed and extended. This was the beginning of "The Society for Propagating the Gospel at home". The society was patterned after the Hampshire Association which had been established by Dr. Bogue in England. Less than a month later, 11th January, 1798, the first General Meeting of the S.P.G.H. was held in Edinburgh. Twelve laymen were placed as the Board of Directors. A plan was formed to train and assign young men as itinerants and catechists to preach without support of public offerings, to establish Sabbath-evening schools, and to distribute religious tracts. This proposal was published in a

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[46] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 95.

paper entitled, "Address to the Faithful in Christ Jesus". In this initial public announcement, the directors of this non-denominational society declared: "'It is not our design to form or to extend the influence of any sect. Our sole intention is, to make known the everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In employing itinerants, schoolmasters, or others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them, or appointing them to the pastoral office. We only propose, by sending them out, to supply the means of grace, wherever we perceive a deficiency.'"[47] The Missionary Magazine became the printed voice of the society. Its editor, Grenville Ewing, had preached a sermon to the Society for Gratis Sabbath Schools meeting in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, on 24th December, 1797. The discourse, "A Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching,"[48] was later published and was advertised as a sermon which had "excited a pretty strong and general sensation" when it had been heard. During the first year of the S.P.G.H. several assignments were carried out. Mr. Rate toured in Fife. John Cleghorn and Mr. Ballantyne journeyed north into Caithness to follow-up the work of the Haldane, Aikman, Rate tour of the year before. Alexander MacKenzie, a Gaelic catechist, was assigned to establish Sabbath schools in the Northern Highlands, after which he was sent on a mission to the Western Isles. James Haldane, Aikman, and Hugh Ross itinerated in Perthshire. Ross, another Gaelic catechist, went on to work in Inveraray. Three more Gaelic catechists were assigned to Perthshire. In June, J. Haldane and Aikman began a journey which took them west through Peebles, Biggar, Hamilton, and Greenock; then south into Ayrshire and Galloway; and returning by

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[47]Matheson, op. cit., p. 162.

[48]Grenville Ewing, "A Defence of Itinerant and Field Preaching," p. v.

way of Berwick. It is particularly noteworthy to observe that the two laymen adopted a new policy with regard to the practice of censuring parish ministers. Through the Missionary Magazine they declared that they were "resolved to confine ourselves in our intended journey to the declaration of what we consider as the truth of God, without making personal remarks on any individual."[49] Nevertheless, according to the Haldanes' biographer, "in some places they encountered more opposition than before, and especially at Ayr, where Mr. J. Haldane was interrupted in preaching at the market-cross, and summoned before the magistrates, who had been incited to interfere."[50] During this same year, J. Haldane, Aikman, and Rate published their Journal of a Tour Through the Northern Counties of Scotland and the Orkney Isles, in Autumn 1797. The book passed through three editions, one of which consisted of 5,000 copies. Thus, their rather severe charges against parish ministers were in print and widely circulated. Allied to these activities of the S.P.G.H. was the growth of Sabbath School societies in the principal towns of Scotland. These were almost entirely independent of ministerial superintendence. While the Sunday school primarily sought to reach children, their parents and other adults were also urged to attend. The meetings were similar to evangelistic services. The volunteer teacher was assisted by members of the local committee who participated in the devotional service and delivered a short discourse. Accordingly, as Gavin Struthers pointed out, the Sabbath school meeting "was just a modification of the system of lay preaching, and was intended at little expense, as no salaries were to be given, to diffuse the gospel, and make private Christians

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[49]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 194.

[50]Ibid., p. 198.

useful to each other."[51]

Another significant event in 1798 was the opening of the Edinburgh Circus. This was a building which had been used by the Relief Church for public worship while their new edifice was being constructed. It was the idea and the financial resources of Robert Haldane that enabled the Circus to be purchased as a preaching station similar to Whitefield's Tabernacle in Moorfields, London. The Edinburgh Circus opened on the 29th July, 1798, with the English preacher, Rowland Hill, delivering the first sermon. While visiting other places in Scotland during week-days, Hill continued to preach each Sunday in the Circus until the end of August. When Hill returned to England, R. Haldane accompanied him. During his visit in the south, Robert Haldane conceived of a plan for establishing other preaching points in Glasgow and Dundee which, along with the Edinburgh Circus, would each be served by a "stated minister" plus a rotation of visiting preachers. He went on to envision the possibility of still other tabernacles being erected in other parts of Scotland which, "if they conformed to the same strict and scriptural discipline, might be united, as far as Congregational principles admit."[52] R. Haldane formed another plan while he was in England. He envisioned a scheme of sending "pious young men" to England to be educated for the ministry. Consequently when he returned to Scotland in the autumn, R. Haldane presented his two proposed projects to his colleagues of the S.P.G.H. The establishment of tabernacles met with approval. However, the idea of educating young men in England received definite opposition.

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[51]Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church, p. 402.

[52]Robert Haldane, "Address to the Public, Concerning Politics and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland," p. 82.

"These prejudices," summarized Ewing's biographer-daughter, "were more particularly pressed on his attention by Mr. Garie, of Perth, who, at the same time, suggested my father as suitable to undertake the charge. Mr. Haldane, therefore, (several weeks after the proposal respecting the tabernacles,) requested my father to instruct a class, which was to consist of twenty students; remarking, that if he declined the work, they must still, as at first proposed, be sent to the south. In these circumstances, my father agreed to this also."[53] At that time, Greville Ewing was still serving the Established Church as one of the ministers of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. However, on 1st December, 1798, Mr. Ewing addressed a letter to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh stating that he had become convinced that it was his "duty to decline being considered, any longer, a minister of the Church of Scotland"[54] and requesting that the Presbytery sustain his resignation from Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. Two weeks later Ewing accepted an assignment by the S.P.G.H. in which he spent ten days itinerating in Perth, Dunkeld, and several other towns in that area. On 26th December, two days after he had completed his brief tour, the Edinburgh Presbytery accepted Ewing's resignation and demission from the ministry in the Church of Scotland.

The tours of the so-called "missionaries" of the S.P.G.H., the publication of the Journal, the growth of the Sunday school movement, the opening of the Edinburgh Circus, the plans for an independent academy for training "missionaries" and ministers--these events of 1798 kindled widespread fervour in Scotland. Especially in the north, immense audiences were attracted to the activities of this new

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[53]Matheson, op. cit., p. 173.

[54]Ibid., p. 177.

movement. The agents of this cause were so intense and so mobile that they "created the impression that they were everywhere."[55] Fellowship groups, local missionary societies, and Sabbath school committees conspiculously increased in numbers and endorsed the efforts of the S.P.G.H. All of this non-denominational activity became an object of growing concern to every branch of Presbyterianism. While some may have regarded the movement as a threat to the foundations of organized churches, and some others may have been suspicious of it as a product of the ideas of the French Revolution, the primary opposition to this new manifestation of evangelicalism was its challenge to Presbyterian order. The S.P.G.H. had grown from within the church in the sense that most of its participants claimed membership or affiliation to some branch of the Reformed Church. On the other hand, it was a society outside Presbyterianism in that it had been established without the sanction or official oversight of any denomination, and it had been significantly influenced and given personal support from English Congregationalist ministers. Thus, most of all, it offended the fundamental concepts of the authority of the Presbytery and the parochial system of an educated, ordained ministry. The Scottish Church had always magnified the office of preaching. The administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the Word were viewed as sacred duties which only could be assumed by those who had received approved training and who had been authorized by the jurisdiction of the Church. For laymen to undertake upon their own authority the office of preaching was an affront to Presbyterian order and a challenge to the Presbyterian system of an educated, ordained minister residing in each parish. Although the Reformation fathers advocated that clergy

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[55]MacInnes, op. cit., p. 149.

and laity be given opportunities for leadership in the Church, the post-Reformation Church had relegated the opportunities for laity to the area of church polity. The earliest form of lay-preaching in Scotland occurred in the 17th century with the labours of "The Men", which had been motivated by Thomas Hog of Kiltearn. Also, from time to time during the 17th and the 18th centuries, Baptist laymen engaged in preaching. In all of these cases, general disapproval was voiced from the Established Church. During the 18th century, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge assigned duties to missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters which could be termed preaching as well as teaching. However, the work of that society had the approbation of both Church and State. "The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had, from the beginning, cordially concurred in the pious views of the Society, and, by repeated acts, injunctions, recommendations, and pecuniary aids, had promoted their endeavours to do good. And from the epoch of the Accession of the Royal Family of Hanover, to this day, not only Government, but the Legislature itself, has adopted the great leading object of this Society, and made it the subject of repeated Acts of Parliament."[56] Furthermore, as Dr. Arthur Fawcett has discerned: "Throughout the [18th] century, noble work was being done by zealous and gifted laymen with the S.S.P.C.K., but it was always in the nature of a stop-gap measure, an emergency which had to be met by any available means, however unusual. It was something approaching presumption for the Scottish laymen to venture on the work of preaching in Scotland."[57]

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[56]Henry Hunter, A Brief History of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 23.

[57]Arthur Fawcett, "Scottish Lay Preachers in the Eighteenth Century," Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. 12, p. 100.

By the end of the tour of 1797, the inevitable opposition against itinerant lay preachers was being voiced. Ewing's controversial sermon in December of that year supported by implication the cause of lay preaching when he contended that when a man preaches to people without being paid to do so, the listeners are more prone to take the message to their hearts. The implication was also evident in the evidence which he cited in defence of itinerant, field preaching. Among the examples of street preaching which he found in Scripture, Ewing noted that Amos was a lay peasant who was excluded from church pulpits by Amaziah. He further advocated that the varying gifts of the spirit provided for the "occasional labours of the evangelist as well as the stated labours of the pastor."[58] While attention is focused upon this discourse, it is relevant to include a summary of Ewing's main thesis. He argued that street preaching was an ancient and scriptural practice. His evidence consisted of such examples as: Lot's "farewell sermon" in the streets of Sodom; Moses' field-preaching in the wilderness; the itineracies of the prophets; the open air discourses of Jesus; the mission of the seventy itinerants; and the street preaching which followed Pentecost. He went on to conjecture that "it might perhaps be equally easy to descend through the successive ages of the church, even to the present day, and to shew, that the gospel has at no period, and in no country, made any considerable progress, or experienced any remarkable revival, without the aid of itinerancies and of field preaching."[59] Ewing by-passed giving a direct answer to the question of whether unauthorized field preaching was against Presbyterian order. He instead advocated that

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[58]Ewing, op. cit., p. 46.

[59]Ibid., p. 15.

if the practice was scriptural then it ought to be included in the orders of the church. As far as the authority to preach was considered, he contended that faithful preaching of "the pure gospel" was its own warrant. Furthermore, any hindrance to or lack of encouragement to the proclamation of the gospel was declared to be wrong. Finally, it is ironic that one qualification Ewing would require of itinerant preachers was that they belong to a denomination. "As to persons who have no Christian communion," he censured, "the church of Christ has as little concern with them, as with mountebanks or strolling players."[60] Almost exactly one year later, Ewing was seen strolling through Perthshire, an itinerant preacher with no denomination.

The originators of the tour of 1797 admitted that the question of lay-preaching had developed into a controversy. Thus, in the introduction of their journal, they presented their own defence of lay-preaching. At the outset they noted their resentment of the very term. "We use the term lay-preaching, not because we acknowledge a popish distinction, unsupported by the word of God, but because the term is generally used and understood."[61] The itinerants began their apologetic with a broad definition of the term "preach". They described preaching as taking place whenever "the glad tidings of salvation" are proclaimed, whether it be to two or two hundred people. Even if that definition be narrowed to the activity of exhorting in public, the laymen contended that "none will be bold enough to say, that without a license a person may not speak to one of his

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[60] Ibid., p. 33.

[61] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 5.

fellow-sinners about the way of salvation."[62] Thus, if he can speak to one, he should be allowed to speak to one hundred. But the central question in this controversy was: What confers authority to preach? The attitude of the laymen was clear when they worded the central issue in these words: "Why should we require a license to inform our brethren of a certain cure for their diseased souls?"[63] This line of thinking prompted them to use an analogy which may be summarized as follows: A person, who had never studied at a medical school, taught himself some facts about medicine. When afflicted with an epidemic disease, he applied a remedy to himself which cured him. Subsequently, he offered the same treatment to other victims of the disease. Thereafter, he goes from town to town freely offering his medical advice to all who attend his lecture. To verify the soundness of his medical counsel, he refers to a book which is recognized as an authority among physicians. Documenting his message from that book, the travelling medicine man points out the danger of the disease, recommends a never-failing cure, and warns his listeners that they will die if they reject that treatment. In such a case, should he be labeled a quack by the College of Physicians because he does not have a proper diploma? Similarly, claimed J. Haldane and his associates, "being convinced by experience, that there is but one remedy for the disease of sin, we warn our fellow-sinners of their danger, appealing to a book generally acknowledged as divine, for the truth of what we say. We advance no new doctrines, and desire our hearers to follow us no farther than we follow the Scripture."[64] Feeling justified in their undertaking, the

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[62] Ibid., p. 6.

[63] Ibid., p. 7.

[64] Ibid., p. 8.

lay-preachers challenged their opponents to produce a scriptural proof-text which prohibited unlicensed persons from preaching. They questioned the wisdom of any church order which required a particular amount of education in granting a license to preach without demanding that the candidate give satisfactory evidence that he personally feels the need of a Saviour and knows the power of religion. J. Haldane and his companions insisted that lay-preaching did not intrude upon the office of ordained ministers. They appealed to the role of evangelist as being distinguished by Scripture as a separate office, and that, to some degree, it was the duty of every Christian to exhort his fellow-men. This task, they asserted, was not restricted to private discourse. To give further support to their case, the itinerants examined several portions of Scripture. Referring to the figure of Apollos in the New Testament, they affirmed that his ministry was "an unanswerable proof that licenses were not deemed necessary in the apostles days."[65] Calling attention to the dispersion of Christians (Acts viii. 1-4), the laymen questioned the probability of all who went about preaching being licensed or ordained. Regarding the work of deacons, the lay-preachers could find no evidence that their ordination to care for the poor also gave them any specific sanction to preach. Seeking to move to the offensive, the defenders of lay-preaching asked the Reformed churches whether John Knox was a lay-preacher or whether his authority rested in his ordination by the Roman Catholic Church. They further attacked the policy of granting licenses to preach for containing so many requirements that the Presbytery was in a sense determining who was called by God to preach. Once again they assailed the clergy by referring to the stipend,

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[65] Ibid., p. 11.

manse and glebe as "the bait which seems to allure so many ignorant men into the ministry."[66] As long as these items were not furnished to lay-preachers, they assured their readers that the right of lay-preaching would not be abused. Besides, they were confident that unfit laymen would soon lose any listeners and themselves tire of such activity. Therefore, they rested their case with the simple conclusion that their circumstances in life made their tour possible and that "the low state of religion [was] a sufficient call for us to go to the high-ways and hedges, and endeavour to compel our fellow-sinners to lay hold on the hope set before them in the gospel."[67]

The controversy over lay-preaching raged to the point of occasioning action to be taken by the various courts of the Presbyterian churches. Ironically those secession branches which appeared at the parish level to be the most receptive to the 1797 trio of itinerants were the first to officially condemn the new movement. As early as May, 1798, the matter was brought before the General Associate Synod by the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Aberdeen. The Presbytery's representation reported that a serious dissension existed within the congregations on the subject of lay-preaching and Sabbath evening schools. Some people greatly approved these movements. The most adamant representative of this view was George Cowie, the Antiburgher minister at Huntly who was sometimes called "the Whitefield of the North". Cowie had written an article for the November, 1797, issue of the Missionary Magazine in which he commended the work of the itinerants. On the other side, there were many who highly disapproved of unauthorized lay-activities. The opposition charged that the lay-preachers were

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[66] Ibid., p. 15.

[67] Ibid., p. 16.

acting outside the authority of the Church. They charged that Sabbath evening schools contained such offensive practices as the singing of hymns, indiscriminate communion, and the conducting of services to which adults were encouraged to attend and at which laymen preached. The synod appointed a committee to answer the request from the Presbytery of Aberdeen for authoritative direction with which to resolve the controversy. An overture was prepared and adopted by the synod in which it "unanimously declared, that as lay-preaching has no warrant from the word of God, and as they had always considered it their duty to testify against promiscuous communion, no person under the inspection of the synod could consistently with their principles attend upon, or give any countenance to public preaching by any who were not of their communion; and should they do so, they ought to be subjected to the discipline of the Church."[68] Relative to the Sabbath evening schools, the overture recognised the potential value which could be derived from such groups provided they were under proper supervision. But it went on to warn its constituents not to send their children or in any manner support such schools:

> ". . .if discourses were delivered in them tending to encroach upon the work of the ministry; if other persons were permitted to be present, besides the children to be instructed; if hymns of human composure were sung in them; if any thing was done or taught in them, inconsistent with the duties of the Sabbath-day; if attendance upon these schools should interfere with the duty of parental instruction at home; or if the minister and session under whose inspection they were, should not be satisfied with the character and principles of the persons who taught in the schools."[69]

The synod had declared its judgment on the subject. But this did not

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[68] John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, p. 393.

[69] Ibid., p. 394.

resolve the controversy. Thus, the synod was petitioned from several sources the following year to review and amend the Act of 1798. What amendments were made were so slight that the spirit of the original overture was maintained. Not only so, but the act was enforced. On 25th April, 1800, Cowie was suspended by the Associate Synod for his activities in behalf of missionary societies and missionary preachers, such as J. Haldane and Rowland Hill. Cowie had been called previously before the Presbytery of Banff in 1782 and rebuked for admittedly listening to a Relief minister preach. The other branch of Presbyterianism to oppose officially lay-preaching was the Relief Church. At the meeting of the Synod of Relief in 1798, an act was passed which declared "that no minister should give or allow his pulpit to be given to any person who had not attended a regular course of philosophy and divinity in some of the universities of the nation, and who had not been regularly licensed to preach the gospel."[70] This act was rescinded in 1811.

The controversy was not brought before the General Assembly of the Established Church until 1799. That year it received overtures "from many Synods" proposing that regulations be made regarding the qualifications necessary for a person to preach the word and to dispense the ordinances of the Gospel. On 28th May, 1799, there was passed a "Declaratory Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, respecting unqualified Ministers and Preachers." That document first affirmed that no probationer who had obtained a license outside of her communion could be considered as qualified to accept a presentation or a call to any parish or chapel of ease. The second part of the act was specifically aimed at the missionaries of the

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[70]Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 576.

S.P.G.H. This section began by stating that it was in the best interests of the Church and the State "that Unqualified Persons, who intrude themselves into the ministry of the word, shall not receive any countenance from the Ministers of this Church; more especially in the present times, when Men, who avow their hositlity to our Ecclesiastical Establishment, and their contempt of all the rules which the wisdom of our ancestors framed, upon the model of Scripture, for the orderly dispensation of the word and sacraments, are traversing all the districts within the bounds of this Church, and attempting to alienate the minds of the people from their established teachers."[71] Consequently the General Assembly prohibited all its ministers "from employing to preach, upon any occasion, or to dispense of any of the other ordinances of the Gospel, within any Congregation under the jurisdiction of this Church, Persons who are not qualified, according to the laws of this Church, to accept of a presentation, and from holding ministerial communion in any other manner with such persons."[72] The clerk of the Assembly was directed to have copies of that act printed and sent to the Moderators of the Presbyteries so that it could be transcribed into the records of those judicatories.

Even this action was not deemed adequate by the Assembly. For on 3rd June, 1799, it added two further measures to its pronounced antagonism to the unauthorized movements of lay-preaching and the Sabbath evening schools. The first document was entitled, "Pastoral Admonition, addressed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, met at Edinburgh, May 23, 1799, to all the People under their Charge."

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[71] The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Edinburgh, the 23rd Day of May 1799, pp. 13-14.

[72] Ibid., p. 14.

It was appointed to be read from every pulpit in the Established Church. While the Moderator, William Moodie, signed the epistle on behalf of the Assembly, tradition has never wavered from attributing the composition of the paper to Dr. Hugh Blair. The statement began by reflecting upon the repercussions and the imminent dangers of the French Revolution which had stirred the British Isles. The people were reminded that attempts to smuggle anarchy and tyranny into Scotland under the titles of freedom and liberty were a present, menacing threat to true religion in the Church and to the precious Constitution of the State. In the context of such perilous times, the Pastoral Admonition lamented that a new danger to the peace and order of the country had arisen within their own fellow-men. It left no doubt as to the identification of the assailants.

> "We mean those, who, assuming the name of Missionaries from what they call the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, as if they had some special commission from Heaven, are at present going through the land: not confining themselves to particular stations, but acting as universal Itinerant Teachers, and as superintendants of those who are established the Teachers of Religion by the Church: intruding themselves into their parishes without any call: erecting in several places Sunday schools without any countenance from the Presbytery of the bounds, the Minister or Heritors of the Parish: committing in those Schools the religious instruction of youth to ignorant persons altogether unfit for such an important charge, who presume not only to catechise, but also to expound the Scriptures; or to persons notoriously disaffected to the Civil Constitution of the country: and connecting those schools with certain secret meetings . . ."[73]

The paper went on to charge the S.P.G.H. with conducting their activities in places not set apart for public worship; with censuring the doctrine or the character of parish ministers; and with purposely seeking to turn the loyalties of the people against their own pastors.

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[73] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

The document reaffirmed that the basis for an educated, ordained ministry was the example of Jesus Christ which served to direct the Church to regard the office of ministers and public teachers to be of divine ordinance. Hence it admonished those who disparaged the order of the Church which had been founded in Scripture. "The men who assume the character of Missionaries, declare that Every Man has a right to preach the Gospel; and they are now traversing the whole Country as Evangelists, without any sort of authority, without giving any public pledge for the soundness of their Faith, or the correctness of their Morals, and without those advantages of regular education, and of preparatory knowledge, which, under every form of a Christian Church, ever since the age of miraculous gifts, have been held as indispensably necessary for the useful and successful discharge of a Gospel Ministry."[74] The Pastoral Admonition did not absolutely forbid the people from attending a service by an itinerant or a Sabbath school teacher. Indeed it admitted that curiosity may lead some to temporarily listen to what they preach. But, surely, it exhorted, no "well-disposed and sober-minded Christians" could consider becoming attached to a sect which undermined the very order and doctrine for which the forefathers of the Church fought to establish and maintain. The letter suggested that anyone who supported those unauthorized movements were in essence opposing the Established Church and the Civil Constitution. Therefore, it directed the people to be steadfast to the principles of their baptism, assuring them that "by diligently improving those stated means of instruction which she [Church of Scotland] provides for you, and always consulting the sacred Scriptures

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[74] Ibid., p. 40.

as your supreme rule, the path of duty will be clearly pointed to you."[75]

Also on 3rd June, 1799, the General Assembly received and adopted a "Report concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools". The report was given by a committee which had been appointed as the result of an overture on the subject which was presented to the General Assembly by the Synod of Aberdeen. The two-fold task assigned to the committee was to present a summary statement of the Laws relating to the power of the Church to supervise schoolmasters and teachers of youth and to prescribe a method of preventing unqualified persons from being employed as instructors of young people. The report revealed that since 1565, the National Church had claimed the right to investigate the qualifications of all who taught publicly or privately and that Parliament had confirmed that right in 1567. The committee testified that it was still the law of the Church and the State that the Presbyteries of the Established Church had the authority to determine whether those who desired to teach had sufficient qualifications. Having this right already entrusted to them, the committee recommended that all Presbyteries should be conscientious in exercising those powers, "and particularly to call before them all teachers of Youth, whether in Parochial Schools, or Schools of another description, and to take trial of their sufficiency and qualifications in those branches of education which they profess to teach."[76] To expedite the fulfilment of their counsel, the committee enjoined each Presbytery to submit a full report to the next General Assembly about the schools within their bounds -- including what was

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[75] Ibid., p. 41

[76] Ibid., p. 45.

taught; when they met; under whose sponsorship they existed; how many students were enrolled, etc.[77] The Assembly directed the printing and distribution throughout the Church of 4,000 copies of the Pastoral Admonition and of 1,500 copies of the Report concerning Vagrant Teachers and Sunday Schools.

Two other proceedings of the General Assembly of 1799 were related to the S.P.G.H. On the 29th May, the high court heard a report from the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale relative to the resignation of Greville Ewing. The Assembly concurred with the action of the Presbytery of Edinburgh and declared that Ewing was no longer a minister in the Established Church, that he could not receive a presentation or call to any of her parishes or chapels of ease without permission from the General Assembly, and that he was prohibited from preaching or performing any ministerial function in the Church of Scotland. It was also stipulated that no minister of the denomination could be employed in any way by Mr. Ewing. Following that action, the Assembly turned to the case of another supporter of the lay-centered movements. Mr. William Innes, minister of the Second Charge at Stirling since 1793, had proposed to take part in Robert Haldane's mission to Bengal, India. When this project was dissolved, Innes

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[77] Principal Acts of the General Assembly, 1799-1804. The following year, 1800, the Assembly noted that less than a fourth of the Presbyteries had reported on the subject. Thus, a further injunction was made that the requested reports be submitted without delay. By 1801, fifty Presbyteries had at least transmitted a partial report. However, 28 Presbyteries had not made any report. Hence, another injunction was sent out. Of the ten new reports received in 1802, two Presbyteries noted opposition to the injunction from the missionaries in their areas. In 1803, 19 reports remained outstanding. In 1804, 16 Presbyteries were named by the G.A. as not yet making any report on the subject: Dalkeith, Dunse, Kirkcudbright, Forfar, Dunkeld, Aberlour, Elgin, Caithness, Kirkwall, Cairston, North Isles, Shetland, Inverary, Mull, Lorn, and Lewis. The subject was not mentioned again in subsequent records of the General Assembly.

maintained his interest in the activities of the Haldanes and their associates. He gradually adopted Independent concepts, and, early in 1799, he resigned from his position.[78] The Presbytery of Stirling accepted his decision. However, a complaint and appeal by some of the members of the Presbytery brought the matter to the General Assembly. That body reversed the decision of the Presbytery and directed Innes, who was absent from the G. A., to return to his charge by 1st July. Innes refused to comply and was libelled and deposed by the Commission of the Assembly on 8th October, 1799.

With the actions of the Church of Scotland General Assembly of 1799, all branches of Presbyterianism had declared their opposition to lay-preaching and those activities of the S.P.G.H. and the independent Sabbath school societies. The primary cause for offense was that the undertakings of the laymen without the sanction of the Church was a challenge to Presbyterian order. The missionaries represented a new strand of evangelicalism to the web of religion in Scotland. The increasing number of evangelical ministers within the churches found themselves in a very delicate situation. The Haldanes and their associates looked for the opposition to come from the Moderates. And that was the source they identified. In the Memoirs of the Haldane brothers their foes were categorised as "the opponents of Evangelical preaching."[79] The biographer of Ewing charged that the actions of the General Assembly could be easily explained by "the overwhelming

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[78]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 245. Alexander Haldane recorded that Mr. Innes' growing separation from the Church of Scotland was climaxed when he was "ordered, by a majority of the General Assembly to assist, personally, in the ordination of a minister, who was a profane swearer, and charged as such in open congregation." Therefore, "he left the communion in which he could no longer continue with a good conscience."

[79]Ibid., p. 2.

majority of the Moderate party, with whom those proceedings originated, that the vote was carried in their favour. There is no difficulty in understanding, how enmity to evangelical truth, and the stings of a conscience reproved by the zeal and earnestness of others, produced so intolerant and unjustifiable measures."[80] Nevertheless, the evidence points to the fact that the Evangelicals, in general, united with the Moderates in the cause of opposing the threat to Presbyterian order. Dr. MacInnes has correctly summarized the reaction of Presbyterianism to the projects of the S.P.G.H.: "Lay preaching was not only a novelty, but an affront to current Presbyterian opinion, whether Moderate or Evangelical, dissenting, or of the Establishment."[81]

When the Edinburgh Circus became a preaching station in 1798, it was not regarded by the S.P.G.H. as an act of disassociation from Presbyterianism. James Haldane claimed that "it was, in fact, no separation from the Establishment. It was merely opening another place of worship for preaching the Gospel without regard to forms of external arrangement or Church order, and where the pastor and many members showed their catholic spirit by going to the Sacrament in the Established Church."[82] Likewise, Alexander Haldane asserted that "Mr. James Haldane never aspired to be the leader of a sect. His ambition was of a higher and holier order."[83] Yet, in reality, that other place of worship was separate from the Established Church, and as such it did pay regard to forms and order. Early in 1799, a meeting was held of the Haldanes and many of their fellow-workers.

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[80] Matheson, op. cit., p. 216.

[81] MacInnes, op. cit., p. 144.

[82] Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 352.

[83] Ibid., p. 243.

At that gathering it was determined to organize the Edinburgh Circus as a Congregational Church. Mr. Ewing was credited with drawing up the plan of government. And J. Haldane was called to be the first pastor. Mr. Aikman stated that the central motive for this action was the intolerable situation of the true Christian fellowship being impeded by existing denominations which "'permitted visible unbelievers to continue in their communion. This was a yoke under which we had long groaned; and we hailed, with gratitude to God, the arrival of that happy day when we first enjoyed the so much wished for privilege of separating from an impure communion, and of uniting exclusively with those whom it was meet and fit that we should judge to be all the children of God.'"[84] On 3rd February, 1799, in a five-hour service conducted by Mr. Taylor of Osset, Yorkshire; Mr. Garie of Perth; and Mr. Ewing, James Haldane was ordained as a Congregational minister. Of his initial congregation of 310 adherants, "thirty continued members of the Establishment, and only desired to be admitted occasionally to the Lord's table by their Circus brethren."[85]

As the phenomenon of lay-preaching became a denomination independent from Presbyterianism, that movement treads outside the bounds of this study. Yet, to avoid recording a few facts about subsequent events in this significant movement would invite the charge of incompleteness. Thus, a brief summary of the progress of the new Congregational communion in Scotland is in order.

Robert Haldane purchased the Glasgow Circus in 1799 and converted it into a Tabernacle of the new denomination. It was opened by Rowland Hill on 28th July. Greville Ewing was the pastor of the Glasgow

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[84] Ibid., p. 233.

[85] Ibid., p. 235.

Tabernacle, and the new class for prospective ministers and missionaries was continued by him there. In May, during the eventful General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, J. Haldane, Innes, and Aikman began a four and one-half months' tour of the Highlands and Islands. Also, before the close of 1799, approximately forty catechists were travelling throughout Scotland in behalf of the S.P.G.H. In 1800, the Dundee Tabernacle was established with William Innes as the pastor. At each of the three Tabernacles academies were set up to educate young men for the ministry. Between 1799 and 1808 these seminaries sent out 300 preachers and missionaries. In 1801, John Aikman received ordination and became James Haldane's assistant at Edinburgh before opening a chapel in Old Town, Edinburgh, in 1802. Each year, usually accompanied by one or two associates, J. Haldane made a preaching tour of some portion of Scotland, and in a few occurrences, he preached in England and Ireland. However, as the new congregationalist movement became more organized the denomination began to experience tensions from within. There were four issues which drove a wedge into the Congregational body: (1) James Haldane began to raise serious doubts as to the scriptural authority for infant baptism; (2) differences were expressed as to the standards to be used for judging persons to be admitted to the Lord's Supper; (3) fellowship meetings were an object of contention regarding whether they should be held on a week-day or on the Lord's day and as to whether they should include exhortations or spontaneous prayer; and (4) the position of elder was debated following the writing of a "Treatise on the Elder's Office" by Ballantyne, who was the Congregational pastor at Elgin. The growing dissention evolved into a disruption in 1808. Mr. Ewing became the leader of one faction which

maintained Congregational order while James Haldane led the other main division into the sentiments of the Baptist communion. In 1808, the Edinburgh Tabernacle Church split into several directions. "The disruption not only divided and diminished the Church, but shattered the great congregation in Edinburgh to which Mr. James Haldane was wont to preach, and probably reduced it to a third of its former average number."[86] This division spread throughout the Congregationalists in Scotland. Without the support of Robert Haldane, Greville Ewing remained as a congregational minister and tutor in Glasgow. His Glasgow Theological Academy, formed in 1811, became known for its promotion of the study of biblical languages. In 1812, Ewing helped form the Congregational Union of Scotland. During the second decade of the nineteenth century, Robert Haldane turned his attention to the Continent where he lived for over three years, writing and lecturing for young divinity students. During the 1820's he took a very active part in the Apocrypha Controversy in which he worked closely with Andrew Thomson. James Haldane remained in Edinburgh as a minister. In 1849, he celebrated his fiftieth year as pastor of the Edinburgh Tabernacle. He participated in the founding of the Edinburgh Bible Society in 1809. After the disruption of 1808, J. Haldane discontinued his evangelistic tours. Similarly,,in 1808, the work of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home was dissolved. Therefore, as far as the subject of evangelism is concerned, an unique chapter came to a close. The epitaph given it by Gavin Struthers was not inaccurate. He accredited it as "one of the noblest schemes which

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[86] Ibid., pp. 373-374.

modern times have witnessed for diffusing religion, and evangelizing the population of the country."[87]

The tours of James Haldane and his associates and the enterprises of the S.P.G.H. were new variations to the history of evangelism in Scotland. In a country where religion was established by law, where religious activities occurred almost exclusively within church property and where the office of preaching was so magnified that it was the exclusive right of the ordained clergy, it was a drastic innovation to have self-authorised Presbyterian laymen conducting public preaching services literally wherever they could assemble people together. They preached anywhere - from churches to barns and from market-crosses to the deck of a ship. There is very little record of the order of worship followed by these evangelists. In the Journal of J. Haldane, Aikman, and Rate, there was the comment made at Kirriemuir that they "began as usual by singing."[88] Apparently the services began and concluded with the singing of psalms. At Fraserburgh, where a very small group gathered to hear them, they observed that "in most places . . . the people declined joining with us in the first psalm; but generally a good many joined in the last; in this place, however, they joined in neither."[89] No complaints were issued against the singing at the services of the itinerants. Thus, it may be surmised that the psalms were exclusively used. However, the movement did not object to hymn singing, especially in the Sabbath schools, and, by the time of the establishment of the Congregational church at Edinburgh,

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[87]Struthers, op. cit., p. 407.

[88]J.A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 39.

[89]Ibid., p. 44.

hymns were employed in public worship.[90] The devotional aspect of public worship also received little attention in the records of the movement. The first itinerants only mention prayer and the blessing once in their account. In describing their experiences at the fishing village of Avoch, they noted that there were only eight or nine people with them when the open-air service began. But "by the time the prayer was finished there were nearly 300."[91] And, at the close of the service, "after pronouncing the blessing, the people expressed thankfulness . . . "[92] Like their sermons, the prayers at these services were extemporaneous. No specimen of the pattern or the content of these devotions has been preserved. This meagre evidence points to the conclusion that the order of worship conducted by these evangelists was in conformity with Presbyterian order used at that time. There is no mention of the reading of a portion of Scripture as a separate segment of the service. The Scripture was heard when the text of the sermon was given. Also, the discourses themselves were characteristically filled with scriptural quotations and biblical language. The center and climax of these services was the preaching of the word. Therefore, the order of worship implied is as follows: Psalm, Prayer, Sermon, (possibly a Prayer), Psalm, and Blessing.

It is interesting, and somewhat mysterious, to recall the fact that the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Aberdeen charged that the lay-preachers administered the Lord's Supper and that the Sabbath school

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[90]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., pp. 236-243. In the ordination service for James Haldane on 3rd February, 1799, the following hymns were sung: Hymn 64, from the 2nd hymnbook of Dr. Watts; Hymn, "The People's Prayer for their Minister"; and Hymn 50, from the 2nd book of Olney Hymns, "A Prayer for Ministers."

[91]J. Haldane, op. cit., p. 83.

[92]Ibid.

meetings, which were a type of evangelistic service, included hymn-singing. At the same time, the other branches of Presbyterianism never mentioned such offenses. Because the whole lay-centered movement was a serious affront to Presbyterian order, it must be concluded that if the laymen had administered communion and led hymn-singing during their itinerancies, their opponents would have been very vocal and quite specific in making accusations against such practices. Also, it must be noted that the enactment of the General Associate Synod in response to the charges of the Presbytery of Aberdeen did not arraign the accused as having already committed the offenses as charged. The act simply declared that if such practices were found to exist, that the Church must testify against them and give no support to them. Therefore, the conclusion of this study is that where this movement manifested itself as evangelistic services which were affilliated to the established religion of the country, the practice of dispensing the Sacrament or of hymn-singing was rarely, if ever, a practice during public worship. However, whenever the efforts of the S.P.G.H. resulted in the formation of Independent congregations, the administration of both sacraments and the adoption of hymns from the congregational churches in England did take place. The congregational form of government compiled by Ewing advocated the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper.[93] And, as has already been noted,[94] hymn-singing from at least two different hymn-books was a part of the ordination service of James Haldane.

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[93]Matheson, op. cit., p. 647. "The Lord's Supper shall be administered every Lord's day, when the minister is present, or when a minister can be procured to officiate in his stead." -from a copy of the regulations of the Church in Jamaica Street, Glasgow.

[94]see footnote no. 90.

Though preaching was the primary activity of the S.P.G.H., there are very few extant accounts of the manner and style of delivery or of the content and composition of the discourses. Neither the memoirs of the Haldanes or of Ewing nor of their published works contain examples of the ordinary sermons which they preached on their tours or in the tabernacles prior to their break from the Established Church. Robert Haldane had a very limited career as a lay-preacher. He delivered his first public discourse at Weem in April, 1798. After that he did not participate in any extensive tours. In 1800, he was compelled to desist from preaching because of a re-occuring hemorrage in the throat whenever he spoke in public.[95] Hence, James Haldane was the best known preacher of the entire movement. One of the few surviving descriptions of his preaching is contained in the previously referred to letter written by Mrs. MacNeil to Mr. Aikman's sister. She recalled having seen J. Haldane preach at Thurso. "'He was standing on the top of an outer stair, dressed in a grey coat, with tied hair, and powdered. But I think I shall never forget the fervour and divine unction with which he proclaimed the Gospel of mercy . . . . He threw his whole soul into his subject, and commended the truth to everyone's conscience, as in the sight of God.'"[96] J. Haldane's method of preaching was charged with emotion. This characteristic was especially evident in the following excerpt from a report of Haldane's first visit to Wick in 1797. This article was written in

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[95]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 601. Robert Haldane did, however, resume preaching in later years. Between 1840-41, he preached two sermons each Sunday in a country chapel at Auchingray. "This was necessarily fatiguing, but the avidity with which the country people flocked to hear, and the tokens of their blessed effects, rendered him unwilling to leave them off."

[96]Beaton, op. cit., pp. 154, 156.

1803 by John Cleghorn, the first Congregational minister at Wick. Referring to the effectiveness of Haldane's preaching, Cleghorn wrote:

> "Some have compared its operation to that of an electric shock. A solemn silence pervaded the multitude. Many were seen to shed tears; and when some truths were expressed, sighs were heard throughout the congregation. Some have told me there was an astonishing authority, and a sort of indescribable evidence attending the word, which they could not resist. The word of God on this occasion was truly quick and powerful. I have been informed by others, that they heard brother Haldane as if he had been a messenger sent immediately from God, and thought that what they heard was addressed to them individually, and that they were sometimes afraid lest their very names should be mentioned. In short, the attention of almost every one was drawn to what they called this gospel. It was indeed new to most who heard it, both as to the matter and the manner of delivering it."[97]

The ardor and the vehemence of Haldane's preaching affected the feelings of his listeners to the point where some tended to believe that those sensations were the evidence of one's possession of "this gospel." Mrs. MacNeil longingly called to remembrance "'the deep distress of mind I was in when I heard Mr. Haldane . . . and when the Gospel was revealed to me in all its glory, my joy was great, so much so that I was sometimes so overcome with it, I thought I could contain no more. Often do I wish I now felt the same brokenness of heart, and the same lively hope which I had in the days of my youth.'"[98] Though this trait was common in the preaching of Haldane and his associates, it was not emotionalism that exclusively remained with their hearers. The evangelists had the evangelical zeal for teaching the people sound doctrine. And this was as evident in their preaching as in their work for the Sabbath school movement and the distribution of religious tracts. They were appalled by ignorance; they sought to correct false

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[97] Missionary Magazine, vol. viii, pp. 409-410.

[98] Beaton, op. cit., p. 157.

teachings; they desired to promote true doctrine. Being the first teacher of the missionaries, Greville Ewing was particularly influencial in this endeavor. His particular contribution was to emphasise Christian doctrine by expository preaching. The tendency among evangelicals at that time was to preach upon an item of creed or doctrine by amassing a number of scriptural proof-texts to verify their position. While Ewing proclaimed the same evangelical truths, he did not employ as systematic an approach as was common. As one of his students testified:

> "'As the popular preachers of the day expounded every text, in conformity with some point of the orthodox creed, irrespectively of what was suggested by the context, considerable attention was awakened to what was, properly enough, called Mr. Ewing's new plan of preaching. Hundreds, induced by curiosity to go, for once, to hear the eloquent speaker, were constrained to continue their attendance, that they might enjoy the benefit of being instructed by the edifying preacher, who was found bringing out of his treasury things new and old. Hence, it was no unusual thing in those days, to hear one, on returning from sermon, saying, "I seldom hear Mr. Ewing without getting something new; and he shows so plainly how it is found in the text and context, that I wonder how I never saw it so before."'"[99]

Even so, this method did not involve long hours of preparations, nor did Ewing and his students advocate the writing out and reading of sermons. In fact, the preaching of Haldane, Ewing, and their colleagues were quite often extemporaneous, the subject of their discourse being dictated by the immediate circumstances in which they found themselves. Ewing obviously captured the admiration of his student who boasted that Mr. Ewing was "'able, in cases of emergency, without much previous study, to equal, if not excel, his best preparations in ordinary circumstances.'"[100] But perhaps such testimony was

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[99] Matheson, op. cit., p. 231.

[100] Ibid., p. 232.

also a commentary upon the preparations and the resulting discourses during ordinary preaching. The great frequency of their preaching and the central theme of their message provided these evangelists with a consistent pattern and a ready subject which could be employed at a moment's notice.

The most concise description of the pattern followed in the preaching nurtured by the S.P.G.H. was found in the analogy used by the first itinerants in their defense of lay-preaching. In describing the method of the self-appointed medical worker, the pattern of their preaching was revealed. "When assembled, he warns them of their danger . . . He mentions a book of acknowledged authority . . . He informs them that in it they will find the symptoms of their disease described, and a specific cure pointed out, which has never failed of success, and assures them that death will be the certain consequence of rejecting it. He reads passages of this book, and endeavours to illustrate them; he attests the truth from his own experience."[101] The complete corruption of man and the desparate necessity of regeneration by the gift of grace was the central message contained within that pattern of their preaching. The biographer of the Haldanes alleged that "the sovereignty of God and the responsibility of man were two doctrines which Mr. James Haldane never tried to reconcile, but which he fully and strongly preached."[102] It cannot be denied that these doctrines were professed by the Haldanes and their fellow-preachers. But the evidence points to the fact that their central, and almost exclusive, theme was the all-sufficient grace of Jesus Christ. This emphasis was the evangelical response to

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[101]J.A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 8.

[102]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 486.

the moral and ethical discourses which were proclaimed from many pulpits and which concentrated upon the need for man to practice good deeds. The itinerants charged that the only message many congregations heard was that "'If men do their best, the Lord will accept them for Christ's sake.'"[103] Thus, the evangelists' preaching became a reaction against what they believed to be an over-emphasis upon the doctrine of good works. The participants of the S.P.G.H. avowed to oppose the Arminian principles which they heard so many ordained ministers proclaim. The evangelists viewed their contemporary scene as an on-going controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism. Ewing entered this conflict practically from the beginning of his ministry. In 1794, as a young minister of the Established Church, he wrote an article which sought to clarify the two positions. The basic belief of Calvinism, he stated, was in the sovereignty of God; and the foundation of Arminianism was the doctrine of the responsibility of man. His synopsis of the Arminian position asserted that emphasis upon the accountability of man made the existence of sin dependent upon the will of man. Every man, therefore, was on probation in the same way that Adam was when he was created.

> "All men, however, either from example or temptation, commit sin, and are therefore exposed to the wrath of God unless they repent. From the power of vicious habits they find repentance very difficult, and perfect obedience impossible. In compassion, therefore, God hath set forth his Son to be the propitiation for our offences, and promiseth his Holy Spirit to help our infirmities. But no divine decree, or irresistible grace, fixes the conduct and the fate of any individual. Whosoever will, may believe, may repent, may resist the Holy Spirit, and reject the counsel of God against himself."[104]

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[103] J.A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 44.

[104] Evangelical Magazine, vol. ii, p. 458.

On the other hand, Calvinism, continanced Ewing, declared that with the fall of Adam, himself and his posterity were "completely ruined." But upon the gracious discretion of God, He determined to save a remnant. This plan has been, is being, and will continue to be carried out by God in each generation. The method by which God executes this plan is by publicly revealing the way of salvation and by making available the means of grace "which all have it in their power to use, and hath promised to all who use them fully, that these means shall, by his blessing, become effectual. But, on account of the depravity which originated in the fall, no man will embrace the mercy offered to him, unless he be moved to do so by the Holy Spirit. To whom God will, he sendeth his Spirit, and whom he will he hardeneth. They who perish have nothing to plead; they who are saved have nothing to claim."[105]

These distinctions between Arminianism and Calvinism were not so clear-cut when contained in pulpit or open-air discourses. Although the itinerant evangelists did not hesitate to label ministers as Arminian, or Socinian, or "godly", the clergy itself did not generally make such distinctions among themselves. There was no open controversy over doctrine. The fact was that there were varying degrees of emphasis from one parish to another. One prevailing emphasis was upon man's covenantal relationship with God which was contracted upon certain conditions. On man's side he was obligated to fulfill the moral obligations of love. Therefore, the necessity of the performance of good works was stressed. The evangelical evangelists of the S.P.G.H. did not reject the need for good works. In fact, Haldane and his early companions went so far as to confess that works were "the never-failing fruit and evidence of faith, without which, the faith which

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[105] Ibid., p. 457.

any man might say he had, would never save him."[106] Robert Haldane sought to clarify his position on the subject of good works with this statement: "The Scriptures declare that men are not chosen (Rom. xi. 6), are not justified (Rom. iv. 2,5), are not saved (Eph. ii. 9), by their works; that they are not saved according to their works (2 Tim. i. 9), but they uniformly declare that men shall be judged according to their works."[107] Nevertheless, the evangelists of the S.P.G.H. were ever alert to condemn any sermon in which they detected an emphasis upon good works and a neglect of the doctrines which they considered essential to the content of every Gospel message. A typical commentary by the itinerants revealed that their critique of a sermon was partly based upon what they considered necessary to be proclaimed. For example: "He supposed men to be first righteous, and then somehow enjoying benefits by Christ. It was wholly upon the system of works. He said, that the great principles of morality, justice, love, etc. were naturally implanted in our hearts, but clouded with prejudice. He did not mention the corruption of human nature."[108] Whenever good works were proclaimed as effectual to salvation, the itinerants tended to censure not only the message but also the minister. " . . . one would think that the most inconsiderate could scarcely fail to be struck with the strange inconsistency of teaching others they will be saved by a diligent discharge of the duties of their station, while they themselves so openly neglect their own."[109]

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[106] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 71.

[107] Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 433.

[108] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 58.

[109] Ibid., p. 52.

Most of the opposition to the itinerants and missionaries centered on the subject of lay-preaching. Very little dispute was raised over the content of their preaching. However, a few, who had felt the sting of the evangelists criticisms, took exception to the message of Haldane and his associates. One spokesman for this opposition was Gavin Mitchell, a minister of the Established Church in Kinellar. Following the third edition of the first itinerants' account of their tour, Mitchell published a rebuttal to the lay-preachers' content and conduct. Issued in 1799, Mitchell's treatise opposed the preaching of the laymen and defended the emphasis upon moral obligations as essential to the Christian message. He charged the laymen with attending the preaching of ordained ministers to purposely find faults within the church and to cause disunity among Christians. "After all," retaliated Mitchell, "to carp upon a Minister's expressions, so as perhaps for a single faulty word to destroy his usefulness, and to blame him for not introducing the whole of Mr. Haldane's system of Divinity, (even supposing it to be good and perfect,) into every discourse; to find fault with preaching good works, or any thing but the merits and atonement of Christ; and for such things to exhort and press hearers to leave the Church, is so opposite to the Christian temper, that, I scruple not to call the man who does so, no follower of Christ."[110] The minister from the Presbytery of Aberdeen presented his vindication of the preaching of good works. He posited that being in the image of God consisted in being like God in moral perfection. To fulfill that image, man was required to do good works which often demanded more effort than he chose to exert. This

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[110]Gavin Mitchell, Remarks upon a Publication Entitled, "Journal of a Tour, etc.", p. 26.

occasioned the frequent preaching of good works. "The great object therefore to be enforced by Christian teachers," Mitchell maintained, "is not to believe, but to be grateful, to walk worthy of that vocation wherewith we are called, to walk in love, (as Eph. iv. 1-5) which many who profess to be Christians do not. Love, and imitation of the divine moral perfection, with a conduct in every thing agreeable to these, are consequently the chief things to be urged upon Christians."[111] To substantiate his position, he pointed to the directions to preachers given by Paul as recommending the promotion of good morality. He drew attention to the Sermon on the Mount as "the great exemplar of the doctrine and manner of preaching of Jesus." In pressing to achieve his case, Mitchell paraphrased the words of Christ as "condemning them who say, Lord, Lord, without good works, and with condemning a mere profession, which he calls building on sand, and explains to be not doing his words."[112] Finally, while insisting upon the effectiveness of good works, Mitchell again assailed the laymen as assisting the goals of the French Revolution.

> "The foundation of our acceptance is in the grace of God and Christ for justification, but salvation comes from a proper use of that grace and justification, in life. In a word, the whole scope of Mr. Haldane's book, and of his public appearances as there stated, appears to lead men from practical godliness to a national religion. Nothing in my opinion can be more subservient to the purposes of the French government, if religion cannot be wholly rooted out, than by thus throwing out of view the principles of life, to palsy it; and by making Christians hate one another, and bringing down establishments to introduce anarchy and confusion into society."[113]

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[111] Ibid., p. 10.

[112] Ibid., p. 12.

[113] Ibid., p. 31.

Greatly disturbed by the preaching represented by Gavin Mitchell, the evangelists of the S.P.G.H. repeatedly filled their discourses with the doctrine of the total depravity of man, the consequences of that corruption, and the atonement achieved by the grace of Jesus Christ. They appealed to their hearers to believe "this Gospel" as the only hope of salvation. As self-appointed champions of true evangelical religion, they emphatically, and almost exclusively, preached justification by faith alone and attributed that faith as a gift solely from God.

The preaching and the labours of the S.P.G.H. were deeply sincere and zealously ambitious efforts to evangelize the people of Scotland. But what were the results? The evangelists directed their message of grace to the goal of individual regeneration. Yet the movement seemed reluctant to assess the consequences of their undertakings as they affected individual lives. There was no question but what their emotional discourses often would emit emotional responses. Still, their reports of such responses were cautious and were not given as evidence of evangelistic triumphs. "He seemed much affected, and grasped the speaker eagerly by the hand. He cried to God for the pardon of his sins[114] . . . Many of the people appeared much affected, and in tears[115] . . . When speaking to them of their situation, in having been so long without the preaching of the gospel, the whole congregation seemed deeply affected. Some persons wept aloud during the greater part of the sermon."[116] Though encouraged by such responses, the evangelists realistically evaluated them. The itinerants were

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[114] J. A. Haldane, op. cit., p. 56.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., p. 61.

hesitant to affirm success until there was further evidence that lasting conversions had been effected. J. Haldane and his companions observed that they "might have mentioned other instances of the power of God apparently accompanying his word in the course of our journey, but declined it from our not having had an opportunity of knowing whether the effects were abiding."[117] Greville Ewing was equally reserved in noting the results of his preaching.[118] On the other hand, there were other testimonies which credited the missionaries, and especially James Haldane, with being the instruments in the conversion of many lives. John Cleghorn's article regarding the evangelistic efforts in Wick claimed that during J. Haldane's first visit in 1797, there were no less than "forty persons who tasted on this occasion that the Lord is gracious."[119] The Congregational minister went on to estimate that between 1797 and 1803 "one hundred and twenty in all give every evidence of having experienced the power of divine truth since our brethren visited this country" and that "there is a very considerable number in addition to that already specified, of whom we entertain the best hopes, but of whom nothing very positive can be said at present."[120] One of the most notable authentications of the results of the movement came from Andrew Thomson who once "remarked that, in examining candidates for admission to his half-yearly communions, he found a greater number of instances of awakenings attributed

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[117] Ibid., p. 80.

[118] Matheson, op. cit., p. 193. For example, in his account of his itinerancy in December, 1798, Ewing used such qualified language as: ". . . was told of a growing concern among the people; and particularly that one, a grey-headed man, seemed to be awakened, and two others deeply affected, by the sermon on Monday last."

[119] Missionary Magazine, vol. viii, op. cit., p. 420.

[120] Ibid., p. 411.

to the preaching of Mr. James Haldane than to that of any other preacher in Edinburgh."[121] It can be positively concluded that one result of the S.P.G.H. movement was that many people became professing Christians and that their way of living became a testimony that their lives had changed. These converts were not concentrated in any specific region of Scotland. Therefore, the total effect from these individual conversions did not greatly add to the momentum of the work of evangelism in Scotland.

The most tangible result from the work of the S.P.G.H. was the discord which it caused in the state of religion in Scotland. This was a consequence which the movement had neither anticipated nor intended. J. Haldane, Aikman, and Rate initiated the movement with a tour which was designed to stir people up to flee from wrath but not to drive them to another sect. Yet the tactics they employed only stirred many people to raise doubts about their respective ministers and some were driven to become independent of Presbyterianism. Subsequently the S.P.G.H. was founded as a non-denominational society which resolved to neither form nor extend any sect. Nevertheless, this organization became the foundation stone for the establishment of Congregationalism in Scotland. As an itinerant lay-preacher, J. Haldane viewed his vocation as that of an evangelist which the Bible distinguished from that of a pastor. Haldane felt no need for ordination, and the S.P.G.H. made it clear that it made no proposal to ordain the missionaries or to appoint them to pastoral offices. Inspite of that, James Haldane was eventually ordained to be the first Congregational pastor in Scotland, and men such as Ewing, Innes, Cleghorn, and Ballantyne were given pastoral assignments. As those

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[121]Alexander Haldane, op. cit., p. 483.

unintentioned developments took place, the tension between Presbyterianism and the evangelistic movement reached the breaking point. Presbyterianism admonished the self-authorised endeavor. The S.P.G.H. anathematized the clergy in many Presbyterian parishes upon the evidence of second-hand reports and from hearing a single sermon of a minister. "The consequence was that duties were gladly discontinued by many; catechisms and other formularies of the Church were dispised and almost the whole of her ministers rejected as unsound. These views were very extensively maintained and propagated throughout the country."[122] The central arena of the discord and disunity was located in the Highlands. Previous to that time religion in the Highlands had been noticeably free of disruption. The northern regions of Scotland had, during the eighteenth century, maintained a steadfast loyalty to Presbyterianism -- especially to the concept of a National Church. Thus, a tragic conflict became one of the outcomes of the attempt of the S.P.G.H. to "supply the means of grace" wherever it was found wanting. As John MacInnes adjudged: "Their unenviable distinction is that they introduced religious strife, and sectarian bitterness, among a people who had hitherto been relatively free from these things."[123]

The final outgrowth of the exertions of the S.P.G.H., as far as the history of evangelism in Scotland is concerned, was its effect upon the several notable revivals which occurred in the Highlands during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. As shall be observed in a subsequent chapter of this study, the itinerating evangelists of the S.P.G.H. cultivated the ground upon which certain

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[122] Memoir of Robert Findlater, p. 134.

[123] MacInnes, op. cit., p. 152.

revivals would be harvested in Arran and Skye. Beyond this, the movement made no further contribution to the history of evangelism or public worship in Scotland. And, ironically, the future revivals towards which the S.P.G.H. contributed valuable background labour were not conducted by evangelists who were independent of Presbyterianism. The seed sown by the independent, or congregational, itinerant evangelists was harvested by evangelicals within the Presbyterian churches. In many other areas, the work of evangelism in the early nineteenth century was led by a rising force of evangelical ministers who were neither directly connected nor influenced by the activities of the S.P.G.H.[124]

Together the phenomenon of evangelism by lay-preaching and the rise and fall of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home were an extreme manifestation of the rising tide of evangelicalism which became the dominating force within Presbyterianism during the years of the nineteenth century leading to the Disruption of 1843. In public worship, the movement magnified the already dominant place of preaching the word. In theology, it was an intolerant reaction to what became known as the Federal Theology. In opposition to the concept of a conditional covenant and to the moral and ethical preaching of good works, the itinerant evangelists proclaimed a Calvinism which warned men of the terrible consequences of their total corruption and then pleaded with them to believe in the gracious atonement of Christ. Their appeal was to a personal regeneration by means of belief in the sovereign grace of God. In evangelism, the missionaries were confident,

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[124]For example, in Caithness, during the early years of the nineteenth century, the best known evangelical ministers, such as Alexander Gunn, Archibald and Finlay Cook, and John Munro, had no previous contact with the S.P.G.H.

brusque, and aggressive. Their preaching was emotional and persuasive. Their energetic mobility was an expression of a novel missionary enthusiasm. Their sincere fervour for their interpretation of the Gospel led them to a bigotry and a kind of contempt for ecclesiastical order which inaugurated sectarianism rather that catholicity. And, finally, their scheme to diffuse true religion was dissolved by dissent from within. Thus ended a brief and extraordinary chapter in the history of evangelism in public worship in Scotland.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVIVAL IN THE PARISH OF MOULIN, 1796 - 1802

> "The inhabitants of the Highlands have, as you know, the Scriptures in Gaelic, their native tongue. The New Testament, the Book of Psalms, and the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, have long been read in the schools. By these means, the people in this part of the country had some knowledge of the principal events in the history of the creation and fall of man, and of our Saviour's life, death, resurrection, and ascension. They knew also some of the great outlines of Christian doctrine; but in general, their knowledge of the principles of Christianity was superficial and confused, and their religious opinions were in many important points erroneous."[1]

This was part of the view of the Reverend Alexander Stewart[2] who, in 1800, tried to describe objectively the spiritual state of the people of Moulin when he first settled in that parish fourteen years earlier. Stewart, born in the manse at Blair-Atholl in 1764, had graduated with high honours at St. Andrews University at the age of 18. He proceeded to study divinity. Four years later upon the recommendation of Principal Hill, he was presented by the Duke of Athole to the parish of Moulin, which was located less than one mile from Pitlochry and which was only separated from his birthplace by the Pass of Killiecrankie. The parish included the village of Pitlochry, the slightly larger town of Moulin, and the surrounding countryside for a

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[1] Alexander Stewart, Account of a Late Revival of Religion in a Part of the Highlands of Scotland, p. 4.

[2] Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vol. I, p. 26. Alexander Stewart -- b. 29 January, 1764; d. 27 May, 1821; married from 1793-1799 to Louisa with whom 2 children were born; re-married to Emilia in 1802 with whom 7 children were born.

radius of approximately six miles. Located in an area of declining population, seventy-five per cent of the inhabitants were occupied with crop farming and sheep raising while a number of the women produced the principal export of the area, linen yarn. Nestled in the scenic Highlands of Perthshire but also accessible via the main road from Perth to Inverness, the Gaelic-speaking people of Moulin were described by Stewart in The Statistical Account of 1793 as "humane, very obliging, well enough contented; enjoy the necessaries of life in a tolerable degree, and the comforts of society in abundance; are frugal in their diet, but study a neat and showy appearance in their dress and furniture. None are known to have emigrated beyond sea from the parish; there are no instances, for many years past, of any person dying for want; and but one has been banished."[3] To add further to the tranquillity of the environment, there was only one kirk -- the Established Church. Hence, "the parish is totally free from the baneful consequences of religious controversy. Some years ago there were a few Episcopalians; but these now join in communion with those of the Established Church. The name of Seceder is unknown."[4]

Ordained at the parish of Moulin on September 21, 1786, Alexander Stewart began his ministry identified with the Moderate party. There was evidence of a close friendship with Principal Hill while he pursued his study of divinity, and, during the first five years at Moulin, Stewart's contacts were almost entirely with ministers who professed Moderate principles. Stewart was a competent scholar. Early in his ministry he became a devoted student of the Gaelic

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[3]Sir John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. v., p. 67.

[4]Ibid., p. 68.

language and was elected an honorary member of the Highland Society. Regarding his ministerial duties, he fulfilled the minimum of his responsibilities with a minimum of enthusiasm. Warning himself and his readers about placing too much credit in Stewart's reflections upon his early ministry, W.J. Couper, nevertheless, asserts that Stewart "had no great interest either in his pulpit preparation or in his pastoral visitation."[5] This charge was largely founded upon the following confessions which Stewart recorded in the latter days of his tenure at Moulin:

> "Although I was not a 'despiser' of what was sacred, yet I felt nothing of the power of religion on my soul. I had no relish for its exercises, nor any enjoyment in the duties of my office, public or private. A regard to character, and the desire of being acceptable to my people, if not the only motives, were certainly the principal motives that prompted me to any measure of diligence or exertion. I was quite well pleased when a diet of catechising was ill attended, because my work was the sooner over; and I was always satisfied with the reflections, that if people were not able, or did not choose to attend on these occasions, that was no fault of mine . . . My public addresses and prayers were, for the most part, cold and formal. . . I preached against particular vices, and inculcated particular virtues."[6]

While the above biographical and autobiographical commentaries may well be exaggerated, there is evidence among his memoirs that supports the fact that Alexander Stewart began his ministry with less enthusiasm about his pastoral responsibilities than he had for those scholarly pursuits which had attracted him prior to his study of divinity. It shall be seen, in fact, that his lack of conscientiousness and conviction actually contributed toward a marked change in his life and subsequent ministry.

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[5]W.J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 78.

[6]James Sievewright, Memoirs of the Reverend Alexander Stewart, D.D., pp. 30-31. (Also Stewart, op. cit., p. 6.)

At first Stewart's settlement in the parish of Moulin was mutually satisfying to both minister and congregation. The people were proud of their young minister's scholarly accomplishments. And the minister was content that no more was expected from him than he gave. "The people, however, were satisfied with what they heard, and neither they nor I looked farther . . . The hearers readily gave me credit for a desire to do my duty; and they as readily took credit to themselves for a willingness to be taught their duty. But whether any improvement was actually going forward, whether there was any increase of the fruits of righteousness, was a point which gave neither minister nor people much concern."[7] Thus, in 1786, a young Moderate minister inauspiciously commenced his ministry in a little known Highland parish. The traditions of the Established Church were maintained. The pastor and people contentedly enjoyed a mutual admiration for one another. There was neither an expectancy nor a felt need for any noteworthy revival to occur. Religious duty was carried out; moral conduct in the parish was, for the most part, honorable; and the community was amiable and content. To this situation Stewart's biographer, James Sievewright, applied this haunting comment: "Such a ministry might succeed in all its aims, and yet not save a single soul."[8]

About 1791, Alexander Stewart began to undergo a gradual change in his attitude towards the ministry and in his convictions regarding the Christian faith. The causes which motivated this turning point in his life were neither sudden, nor dramatic, nor phenomenal. One of the influences upon Stewart was the character of his sister who served

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[7] Ibid., pp. 31-32. (also Stewart, op. cit., p. 7.)

[8] Ibid., p. 37.

as his housekeeper for the seven years in Moulin prior to his marriage. How great was her affect upon Stewart is a matter for speculation because of a lack of specific documentation. However, the combined occasional comments which Stewart made in his letters leave no doubt but that her witness to her brother was felt by him. Another secondary influence upon the young Moderate was his reading of The Evangelical Magazine. He was especially impressed by the biographical articles which appeared in that monthly periodical which began publication in July 1793.[9] It is quite possible that this magazine was recommended to Stewart by his new evangelical friend and confidant, the Reverend David Black. Commenting to Black about his evaluation of the periodical, Stewart wrote: "I was particularly struck with the account of ministers who had laboured with much diligence and success, and had died at an early period of life, full of good fruits; while I, who had already lived longer, and been longer in the ministry than they, could not say that I had taken any pains with my people, nor that I had been the means of reclaiming one sinner from the error of his way, or of saving one soul from death."[10] A third cause of Alexander Stewart's turning point in life was his gradual awareness of his own inadequacy to minister sufficiently to the needs of his parishioners. During the first decade of his ministry in Moulin, this factor increasingly troubled him. So indelibly was this recorded upon his conscience that in later years he could vividly recall an occasion

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[9] The Evangelical Magazine, Vol. I, July, 1793, p. 3. (The Evangelical Magazine originated from London and was edited by a group of "Churchmen and Dissenters of different denominations, uniting their efforts in one common cause, who will endeavour to diffuse liberal sentiments, wheresoever the Providence of God may direct this little confluence of Christian doctrine and catholicism to wind its peaceful course.")

[10] Stewart, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

when "two persons, under conviction of sin and terrors of conscience, applied to me for advice. They supposed that one in the office of the ministry must of course be a man of God, and skilled in administering remedies for the diseases of the soul. They were widely mistaken in their judgment of me; for I had learned less of the practice than of the theory of pastoral duty. I said something to them in the way of advice, but it afforded them no relief."[11] The more he regarded himself as a failure in ministering to the individual needs of his people, the more troubled he became. By April, 1794, he was so depressed that he made this observation:

> ". . . if ever faith could be called dead, mine deserved that name. As to any fruits of the Spirit, either in the desires of my heart, or in active exertions in my divine Master's service, I was as barren as the fig-tree in the parable, which only cumbered the ground. One of the most melancholy circumstances in my case, and the most unequivocal mark of my being in a state of spiritual decay, is, that the spirit of prayer, if ever I possessed it, has quite left me. I cannot rouse myself to offer any petition with earnestness, and indeed I hardly know what I ought to pray for."[12]

At the same time Stewart began to seriously question his own Christian convictions and the content of his preaching. In 1788, only two years after his ordination, he had published a small volume of his sermons. However, by 1791, he was questioning their value, and, still later, he embarrassedly referred to them as "youthful trifles, produced in the season of ignorance and darkness."[13] Stewart's struggle seemed to center in a conflict over whether to continue proclaiming the Moderate themes of righteous morality and social virtues or to undertake the

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[11] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[12] Sievewright, op. cit., p. 79.

[13] Ibid., p. 35.

Evangelical emphasis upon Christian doctrine, especially those of justification by faith and of grace. In a letter dated 3rd October, 1791, he admitted his hesitancy to deliver sermons upon Christian doctrine. "I have a diffidence of my qualification for it, and a shyness, I believe I may properly call it, of discussing or inculcating subjects which they have not been much accustomed to hear . . . I dare say I have just the same dread of being charged with filling my people's heads with uncharitable notions and speculative whims, instead of teaching social duties."[14] Now, more sensitive about the religious knowledge of his parish, the young minister observed that the only doctrine which he found the people "sufficiently ripe on" was the doctrine of the atonement. In the article in the Statistical Account of 1793, which Stewart had written in 1791, it was noted that in addition to the parochial school which had 50 children enrolled, there were five other schools scattered about the parish containing 180 pupils and "taught by persons who have undertaken that employment of their own accord."[15] Upon investigating the schools of the parish, the minister found "that though the children learn to read tolerably, and to repeat questions, etc. yet they learn very little of Christian knowledge."[16] Amidst this situation in which he laboured, Stewart began to examine Christian dogmatics from the Evangelical viewpoint. In the Winter and Spring of 1793, he felt as though his beliefs on certain points of doctrine had altered noticeably since the beginning of his ministry. "Yet," he confessed, "it is

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[14] Ibid., p. 45.

[15] Sinclair, op. cit., p. 66.

[16] Sievewright, op. cit., p. 50.

wonderful to myself how little I am affected by them."[17] Looking back over the few immediately preceeding years of his ministry, Stewart viewed himself "to have been an indolent inquirer, and to have taken up my religious opinions at hazard, from such books as happened to come in my way, and which I heard well spoken of."[18] To a certain extent this process was still going on in Stewart's life. It was still true that one resource which was molding his religious opinions was literature which happened to come his way. The difference was that the religious works were coming to him from persons of another party. Books recommended to him were well spoken of by the new Evangelical friends he was making. In addition to the articles in The Evangelical Magazine, his convictions were being stirred by other publications as well. "The writings of pious men, which were put in my hands by one or another Christian friend, were made the means of bringing me acquainted with the truths of the gospel."[19] Specifically he mentioned being impressed by the works of John Newton and Thomas Scott. Gradually Stewart was coming to accept and to concentrate upon the Evangelical themes of Christian doctrine.

The influence of his sister, the reading of Christian biography and Evangelical writings, the recognition of his own inability to minister to the spiritual needs of his parishioners, and a re-examination of his own convictions, these all contributed to a marked change in the life and ministry of Alexander Stewart. However, the primary causes of this conversion were the personal encounters he had with two other ministers. The first was with the Reverend David Black.

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[17] Ibid., p. 71.

[18] Ibid., p. 63.

[19] Stewart, op. cit., p. 9.

Twelve months before Stewart settled in Moulin, Black had been ordained to St. Madoes Church in the neighbouring Presbytery of Perth. Black was two years older than Stewart; he had been educated at Edinburgh; and he was an Evangelical. Sometime in 1791, Stewart had been, according to Sievewright, "directed by an invisible power" to visit Black at St. Madoes. This resulted in the beginning of a correspondence between the two which continued until Black's death in 1806. Because Stewart left such a limited number of written sermons, his collected letters to Reverend Black were the primary source of his memoirs. These letters were characterised by their openness and honesty. In addition to revealing his inner doubts and struggles with the Christian faith, Stewart sent his sermons to Black for criticism and guidance. In a real sense, Black was Stewart's confessor and counsellor. The content of Stewart's epistles to his contemporary, fellow-clergyman was of that most confidential nature which can be shared between intimate friends. Likewise the replies from Black were highly regarded by the minister of Moulin and exercised a great influence upon his change in theology and ministry.

The second primary influence upon Alexander Stewart was a weekend encounter he had with the Reverend Charles Simeon. In 1796, the famous evangelical preacher from Cambridge, began a preaching tour of Scotland, accompanied by a young layman named James Haldane. Learning of their proposed itinerary, David Black sent a letter to Simeon and Haldane requesting that they visit Mr. Stewart on their journey. Thus, on a Friday afternoon in June, 1796, the two travellers stopped in Moulin to have tea with the local minister. After a short, inconsequential visit, they continued on their way anxious to view the Pass of Killiecrankie and desireous of spending the night at Blair-Atholl.

However, for some reason, they turned back to accept the invitation that had been given them to stay at the manse in Moulin. Later, in a letter to Stewart, Simeon attributed their return to "a very unusual languor and fatigue"[20] which came over him. Nevertheless, there is also evidence that the most practical reason for the retracing of their steps was that they could not find accommodations in Blair. It was the sacramental season in the parish and thus, Simeon and Haldane decided to remain in Moulin on Saturday and Sunday. On the Sabbath, Simeon participated in the sacrament by preaching the action sermon, serving one of the tables, and conducting the evening service. These were the only parts of the services given in English. After Simeon had conducted the evening service, he and his host engaged in a long conversation and in a time of prayer together. Exactly what the two men discussed was not revealed. But from that time on, "Stewart counted Simeon his 'spiritual father.'"[21] Referring to Simeon's visit, Stewart wrote a few years later: "He was a man sent from God to me, was my guest for two days in June, 1796, preached in my church, and left a savour of the things of God, which has remained with us ever since."[22] Also, from that time, Stewart's letters showed an increased concern and compassion for the needs of individual parishoners. He was anxious for his people to know the grace of God. The week-end visit of Charles Simeon and the continuing correspondence with David Black were the primary causes of Alexander Stewart's conversion. While Stewart himself may have called Simeon his "spiritual father,"

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[20]Sievewright, op. cit., p. 97.

[21]Couper, op. cit., p. 81.

[22]Stewart, op. cit., p. 13.

it must be noted that the deepening relationship with Black was probably the greatest single force behind his change in life. His biographer related that "Mr. Stewart always referred to a conversation with his friend at St. Madoes, as connected with the commencement of his spiritual life,"[23] And Stewart later affirmed that "the dear name [of Mr. Black] is always associated with my first preceptions of divine truth and redeeming love."[24]

Prior to Simeon's visit in 1796, Stewart had been struggling to assimilate the evangelical doctrine, which he had been studying, into the subtle, Federal theology as it existed in Scotland and in which he had been trained. He was convinced that evangelical doctrine was agreeable with Scripture and that he must not preach any message which was contrary to it. Yet, he found himself floundering. "The trumpet was sounded," he observed, "but it gave an 'uncertain sound.'"[25] On the one hand, the minister of Moulin stressed the total depravity of man and justification by faith in Christ. On the other hand, in explaining these doctrines Stewart kept slipping back into a view of conditional grace in which moral righteousness and Christian virtue played an efficatious role. Redemption and reconciliation were rewards for righteous living. Stewart wrote:

> "Thus, by a short circuit, I arrived at the same point from which I had set out; still resting a sinner's acceptance with God on the conformity of his will to the divine law, or, in other words, on the merit of his good dispositions, and thus endeavouring to establish a human righteousness under the name of faith in Jesus Christ. It was plain indeed that this conformity of the will to the divine law could be but imperfect in this life; yet, imperfect

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[23] Sievewright, op. cit., p. 41.

[24] Ibid., p. 42.

[25] Stewart, op. cit., p. 10.

> as it was, it must, in my apprehension, be the ground of our justification and acceptance with God."[26]

Stewart realised that his personal struggle was shown in his sermons. Openly he declared to his congregation that he himself was still searching for the truth of the Gospel. Couper has recorded an extraordinary event which occurred once while Stewart was conducting public worship.

> "He was about to give out his text when he paused, leaned over the pulpit, looked round with a sad, despairing glance, and then spoke somewhat as follows: 'My brethren, I am bound in truth and faithfulness to tell you that I feel myself to be in great ignorance and much blindness on the subject of vital religion. I feel like one groping in the dark for light and as yet I have found none. But I think it right to tell you that if God in mercy will give me any measure of the true light, joyfully shall I impart the same to you. Do you, therefore, all of you, pray God fervently that He may be pleased to bestow upon me the true light or such portions of it as He may deem fit for me.'"[27]

According to this report an increasing number of people came to hear Stewart after he made the above confession. Supposedly they came out of curiosity or sympathy, or from an anticipation that he would soon declare that the "true light" had dawned upon him. However, week after week passed and the preacher had no declaration to make.

Technically speaking the Revival of Moulin began on the Sunday following Simeon and Haldane's visit when Stewart proclaimed that he had received the long awaited gift of light. "From that time," he commented to Black, "I began to teach and preach Jesus Christ, with some degree of knowledge and confidence."[28] He immediately began a

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[26] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[27] Couper, op. cit., p. 80.

[28] Stewart, op. cit., p. 13.

conscientious follow-up ministry to several other individuals in the parish who had been inspired by Simeon's preaching. Stewart's own preaching underwent a radical experiment. In the same year of Simeon's visit, Stewart began to preach in English using only short notes or outlines and without even writing out the sermon in advance. He stated that the motivation to try this method came from a notion that some might understand better in English and from an emulation of Simeon's style of preaching without reading or reciting a written discourse. The result? "I did succeed far beyond my expectation," Stewart testified, "for I found my thoughts and language flow with more freedom and energy than in Gaelic, to which I had long been accustomed. I consider this talent of preaching in English, even in such measure as I seem already to possess it, as a mere gift newly bestowed on me, for I never had the least practice in speaking either in clubs or in church-courts."[29] A change in method and style of preaching was not the only pulpit experiment made by Stewart. Less shy about selecting sermon subject-matter according to what had been customarily proclaimed in Moulin, Stewart's discourses became centered upon evangelical themes. From August, 1797, to January 1798, he preached a series of sermons "on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity." The texts for these discourses came from a tract which he had been given entitled "Short Sermons."[30] The content of his preaching

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[29]Sievewright, op. cit., p. 106.

[30]Stewart, op. cit., pp. 13-14. The texts and corresponding themes were as follows:

"Matt. xvi. 26.	What is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?
I John iii. 4.	Sin is the transgression of the law.
Rom. iii. 23.	All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.
Gal. iii. 10.	Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them.

revealed that his struggle between conditional grace and free grace had been resolved. This caused a change in his basic approach to his listeners. He observed: "I therefore addressed them, not as persons who were already, from education, birth-right, or local situation, possessed of saving faith and other Christian graces, but as sinners, under sentence of death, and who had 'not as yet obtained mercy.'"[31] Now it was clear in Stewart's mind that fulfilment of Christian duty could not earn reconciliation with God. No longer did he place the emphasis upon the practice of particular virtues. The heart of his discourses contained the proclamation of what God had graciously accomplished in Jesus Christ. First stressing that all men were by nature "enemies to God," Stewart announced that the sinful state of mankind was "by no means desperate." The good news of the Gospel was

> ". . . that God had made provision for the complete salvation of sinners; that he had appointed his own eternal Son, in the human nature, to procure for sinners the pardon of sin, and a title to glory, by his own obedience and sufferings; that, in conferring

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Rom. vi. 23.	The wages of sin is death.
Acts xvi. 30.	What shall I do to be saved?
Mark i. 15.	Repent ye, and believe the gospel.
I. Tim. i. 15.	This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.
John vi. 37.	Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.
Rom. v. 1.	Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.
I Peter ii. 7.	Unto you which believe he is precious.
Heb. xii. 14.	Follow holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.
Titus ii. 13.	Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.
Luke xi. 13.	If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall your heavenly Father give the holy Spirit to them that ask him?
Heb. xii. 27.	It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment.
Heb. ii. 3.	How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?"

[31] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

> these blessings, God acts as the sovereign dispenser of his own gifts, not in consideration of any merit (for there is none) in the person on whom he bestows them; that a conformity of our will to the law of God, which I formerly considered as the ground of our acceptance, was itself a gift bestowed by God, in consequence of his having first justified, accepted and adopted us to be his children; that in this great salvation wrought out by Christ for sinners, love to God and man, an abhorrence of evil, and a disposition to what is good, were included as essential parts, inseparably connected with the rest; insomuch, that if a man is not renewed in the spirit of his mind, neither are his sins pardoned, nor his person accepted with God."[32]

Thus, the application of his message had become an exhortation to his listeners to Study the Scriptures, to practice sacrificial duty, and to praise God for his grace. According to Stewart's own account, his new manner and changed message attracted the attention of his parishioners. However, he honestly admitted that although people were thinking more and talking more about religious subjects, he could not discern "of any deep or lasting impressions having been made."[33]

During the Spring of 1798, Stewart began to anticipate the annual Sacramental Season which would be observed in June. Although he had routinely performed the duty of catechising in the preceeding years, he now believed that the Sacrament had been abused by admitting every prospective communicant who could give a tolerable answer to the customary questions and who had not committed a gross immorality. As Stewart observed: "In such a large and mixed multitude as then comes together, there is always a great proportion of the ignorant and graceless."[34] Therefore, for a number of weeks prior to the Sacramental Season, the minister of Moulin preached sermons which were intended to instruct the people as to the nature of the Lord's Supper

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[32] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[33] Ibid., p. 17.

[34] Sievewright, op. cit., p. 266.

and as to the prerequisite character of those who were worthy to partake of it. When the Sacrament was celebrated in June, 1798, Stewart felt that he could see the fruit of his preparatory discourses. The sign that his exhortations and warnings had been blessed, according to Stewart, was that there was a noticeable decrease in the number who applied for admission to the Lord's Table. With apparent satisfaction he reported that "some of the ordinary communicants, judging themselves to be in an unconverted state, kept back, of their own accord, from partaking of the sacrament. Others, after conversing with me privately on the subject, took the same resolution. Many of those who might otherwise have applied for admission, forbore to apply."[35] Whereas in previous years the candidates for communion had been as high as fifty, in the summer of 1798 there were only twelve applicants of whom nine were given tokens. Though there is no evidence that this had been or was to become the custom at Moulin, the sacrament was administered for a second time that year during November. On that occasion there were added only six more communicants to the nine who had been admitted in June. The subsequent result of these occasions was that some of the parishioners became concerned about their spiritual status. Stewart noted that this trend was particularly evident among young adults. These sought the counsel of older members of the community who were noted for their knowledge of Christian doctrine. Hence, there spontaneously developed a few small groups which met after public worship to discuss topics of the Christian faith. In addition, a small group of persons, including the minister and some members of his family, began to hold weekly meetings for "conversation and prayer" in the home of an elderly woman.

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[35]Stewart, op. cit., p. 18.

"In this poor woman's little smoky hovel," related Stewart, "we continued to hold our weekly meetings, to August 1799, when she was called away to join the general assembly of the first born above."[36] Still another opportunity for prayer and meditation was offered by the Stewart family who issued a general invitation for any one to join them at the manse for the family's evening worship which was signalled to the community by the ringing of a bell.

Stewart also sought to correct the ignorance and superstition which he felt had profaned the sacrament of baptism. He noted that, regardless of the circumstances, people would take any recourse to see that their child was baptised. If a case of immorality could be proven against a parent, they would find another sponsor to bring the child to this sacrament. In fact, he claimed that "most parents would chuse rather to carry their children a hundred miles to be baptised by a Popish priest, than to be refused baptism when they demand it."[37] Therefore, Stewart preached a series of sermons on the subject of baptism. During the same time, he actively promoted a recommendation and resolution in the Presbytery of Dunkeld to the effect that the laws of the church regarding the sacrament of baptism be revived. He particularly emphasised the need for the ordinance to be administered in public rather than, as had become the common practice, in private. "Whenever I baptise a child on a week day," he stated, "whether in the church or elsewhere, I give previous intimation of sermon, and after preaching I administer the ordinance in the presence of the congregation."[38] Stewart also worked for the reformation of the custom of

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[36] Ibid., p. 17.

[37] Stewart, op. cit., p. 20.

[38] Ibid.

holding a celebration following the sacrament. Suspicious of entertainment,[39] he encouraged the observance to be regarded as "a most solemn religious service."

It did not become openly apparent that a revival was taking place in Moulin until the Spring of 1799. In March, a little over a month following his wife's death (6th February, 1799), Stewart began a series of what he called "practical sermons on Regeneration" based upon the story of Nicodemus. These discourses, which continued until the beginning of July, aroused noteable attention and occasioned what Stewart described as "a more general awakening than had yet appeared among us."[40] Nearly every week witnessed a few individuals become more than ordinarily concerned about being under conviction of sin and begin to seriously commit their lives to Jesus Christ as their Saviour. Early converts helped to inspire others. For Stewart observed that "it was a great advantage to these that there were others on the road before them."[41] As news of the awakening spread, visitors from the surrounding area occasionally attended public worship at Moulin. New "evellies," the term given by Stewart to converts, were claimed from Blair to the north and from as far away as Dunkeld to the south. Not

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[39]Sievewright, op. cit., p. 242. At one point in his ministry, Stewart persuaded the Town Council of Moulin to reconsider their approval of the use of the town hall by a father-son comedy team. When the engagement had been cancelled, the minister wrote a letter to the ousted entertainers and enclosed a guinea donation. Part of the letter read: "I wish I could first persuade you, and then assist you to follow some other line, in which you might have a more comfortable and respectable subsistence in this life, and enjoy the prospect of a happy eternity in the life to come; neither of which advantages you can expect to possess in your present occupation. May God Almighty impress this admonition on your heart, and lead you to think seriously of your everlasting concerns before it be too late."

[40]Ibid., p. 21.

[41]Ibid.

only did the minister and the newly awakened play a leading role in the revival. It was also a feature of the movement that some "evellíes"[42] sought and received a ministry from some of the more mature Christians in the parish. Stewart particularly called attention to one lady whose home "became the chief resort of all who wished to spend an hour in reading or conversing about spiritual subjects. Some who had but newly begun to entertain serious thoughts about religion, and who had not yet come so far as to speak out their mind, would contrive an errand to this person's house, and listen to her talk."[43] The minister acknowledged that these "helpers" (I Cor. xii. 28.) or "fellow-labourers" (Phil. iv. 3.) had been instrumental in appealing to young people and in edifying those who were newly awakened.

Aided and undergirded by such dedicated parishioners, Stewart's own ministrations became increasingly effective though not radically different from his labours since the time he declared to have seen the light. He continued to preach extemporaneously. Sievewright stated that there were only seven fully written sermons among Stewart's memoirs. The rest of his sermon materials was in the form of short notes which provided the mere outline of his discourses. From his research, the biographer claimed that Stewart's pulpit exhortations contained "a plentiful measure of judiciously quoted scriptures" and a number of appropriate illustrations and similitudes which spontaneously came to the preacher as he delivered his discourse. Nevertheless, Sievewright acknowledged that Stewart's pulpit style was not unique or outstanding in itself.

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[42]"Evellíes" is the spelling of this term according to Sievewright's copy of Stewart's diary. It is assumed that Stewart meant "éveillés".

[43]Ibid., p. 22.

> "Plain, serious, and sedate, -- much impressed with his subject, -- in earnest to have it understood, -- deeply interested to have his hearers brought to know, feel, and enjoy the salvation of Christ, -- he evidently appeared. But as a rational being dealing with rational beings, he spoke the language of reason, and bore the countenance of soberness and truth . . . In general, they who went to hear him in quest of what is called fine speaking, must have been disappointed; for in his manner there was nothing of display, no impassioned tones, vehement action, rapid utterance, or the fine-wrought tissue of elegant composition, or studied embellishment."[44]

William Burns provided an eye-witness account of Stewart's conduct in the pulpit from a sermon which Stewart preached in Brechin in 1803. "His manner was calm, and style of composition and of delivery tasteful and tender, not impetuous, or, in the ordinary sense, very striking or popular."[45] Neither pulpit appearance nor oratory were the causes behind Stewart's effectiveness in the revival at Moulin. If there was a single reason, it was that his conversion had caused a new compassion for the spiritual condition of people. Whereas he had once been loathe to carry out his pastoral duties and had experienced the frustration of being unable to help those who revealed their needs, now he was a shepherd who conscientiously cared for his flock of inquiring "evellíes." Sievewright conferred on him the title of "a parent of souls, if we may be allowed the expression."[46] Stewart's great desire to help people and his sufficiency to do so were soon recognised by his parish. "His attention to the cases of the newly awakened was unremitting; and if some trial, or some unlooked for mercy, exercised the hearts of his more established converts, their

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[44]Sievewright, op. cit., p. 367.

[45]Islay Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, p. 125.

[46]Ibid., p. 166.

minister took a lively interest in the dispensation."[47] Not only did the minister visit the people, but they began to call upon him. Several times in his letters to Mr. Black during the year 1800 he mentioned the fact that individuals often came to the manse to visit with him about the Christian faith.[48] It is more than mere speculation to suggest that the receptiveness of the people to Stewart's preaching was to a large degree stimulated by his daily, private ministrations to so many of them.

As the revival continued, news of it began to spread far and wide in Scotland. Because of both interest and skepticism which was aroused, Stewart wrote an account of the "great work" in the form of a letter to his close friend Mr. Black. The account was published and circulated from Edinburgh in 1800. In this record, the minister of Moulin made it clear that the revival was not characterised by great excitement or out-bursts of emotion. "It is observable," he testified, "that the work of conversion has been begun and carried on among this people, in a quiet manner, without any confusion, and without those ungovernable agitations of mind, or convulsions of the body, or shrieking, or fainting, which have often accompanied a general awakening in other places."[49] He could recall only two instances of

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[47] Ibid., p. 165.

[48] Ibid., pp. 156-157. "I am called to speak with one of our new evellies, (awakened), and our hour of worship is not distant. One after the other is calling, but I must defer them till after worship . . . Several called here yesterday, hungering and thirsting as much as ever." (See also, Stewart, op. cit., p. 30.)

[49] Stewart, op. cit., p. 23. (also p. 27, "I know no instances among them of persons trusting for comfort or direction to dreams or visions, impulses or impressions; and hardly an instance of seeking comfort from external signs or tokens.")

highly emotional scenes occuring at public worship.[50] Except for those two cases, Stewart affirmed that the only visible emotional release was that of "silent tears." So calm and controlled were the persons affected by the revival that he found it difficult to cite examples of "remarkable cases of conversion." He believed that nearly all of the converts had been awakened in a gradual, yet observable, process. Stewart specifically noted the striking change in the conversation, temper, and manners of the "evellies." At the same time he could not point to any dramatic cases of profane, degenerate persons suddenly and dramatically being struck by Providential light and miraculously changed. Therefore, while there were external evidences of people being changed, "there are few particulars in the case of each person, which, taken singly, will appear uncommon, or worthy of being detailed in a separate narrative. . . The change has been from ignorance and indifference, and disrelish of divine things, to knowledge, and concern, and spiritual enjoyment."[51] Not being able to substantiate the validity of the revival by accounts of vivid, miraculous scenes of conversions, Stewart appealed to the curious, to the interested, and to the skeptic alike to "come and see." Many did visit Moulin. And among them was David Black, who had been the minister at Lady Yesters, Edinburgh, since 20th November, 1794. In August, 1800, Black spent a fortnight visiting his first parish near

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[50] Ibid., pp. 23-24. In the first instance, which occurred in March 1799, a woman wept so openly that her friends assisted her out of the sanctuary during public worship. During the following week, she was reported "unfit for going about her usual work." Again, in June at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the same lady became highly emotional and it was a few days before "her emotions had subsided." The second case came about in April, 1800, when another woman was "so much moved in hearing sermon, that of her own accord she left the church."

[51] Ibid., p. 29.

Perth and his dear friend, Alexander Stewart. While in Moulin, Mr. Black closely observed the progress of the revival of which he had been continually informed via Stewart's letters to him. Even so, he was impressed beyond his expectations. Black not only observed the great work but he also participated in it. His diary for 24th August, 1800, contained the following eye-witness account:

> "I preached on Matth. xxii. 42.; the congregation attentive, and some of them much affected. Had a great deal of conversation in private with many of those under religious concern, and considerably under the influence of doubts and fears. They spoke feelingly of the hardness of their hearts, and of their indisposedness for every thing that is good. At the same time, their hearts seemed to be much alive to God. They have a keen appetite for the word of God, and an evident love for the Saviour, though they will not allow it themselves. A deep sense of their own unworthiness, and a strong affection for one another, are the most prominent features in their character."[52]

Stewart also remarked about the "warm attachment to each other" that marked the people of Moulin, especially the younger converts.

In spite of such glowing reports, the movement was not without opposition. And Stewart was aware of such an element. Outside the parish the revival was sometimes misrepresented and ridiculed. However, such critics did not visit Moulin or cause any direct distraction. On the other hand, opponents from within the community did cause some trouble. The account by Stewart gave an example of some detractors who visited one of the "fellow-labourers" [referred to in middle, p. 243.] for the purpose of creating an argument and irritating the woman. Those who did "jeer and deride the godly" were small in number and they were only troublesome for a comparatively short time. The greatest opposition, according to Stewart, came from the intellectual element of the parish. Apparently not opposed to

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[52]Sievewright, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

Christianity and credited with a knowledge of Scripture, Stewart charged them with the mistaken theory that those who were illiterate could not possibly attain a substantial grasp of salvation. He accused the scholars of teaching that "it is mere arrogance in them [the illiterate] to imagine, that they can have a larger share of saving knowledge, than men who are greater scholars, and better versed in the Scriptures."[53] How persistent or troublesome these people were is not known for they are never mentioned again. A final segment of objection to the revival came from some who initially resented one of Stewart's major pulpit themes. The theme was that the Scriptures represent mankind as being divided into two distinct classes -- the children of God and the children of the devil. Stewart recorded that he conscientiously called attention to this distinction when preaching his sermons on the doctrine of regeneration. The reaction was that "many have been not a little offended at such a discrimination; have found fault with the preacher; have complained of uncharitable judgment, pleading that it was God's prerogative to judge the heart; that they hoped theirs was good, though they did not make such a parading profession of religion, etc."[54] As one who had previously been reluctant to proclaim what his listeners had been unaccustomed to hear, Stewart confessed that he had to continually seek divine strength to refrain from tempering his language and manner. In the end, he believed that the struggle from within and the resentment from without bore good fruit and that the conversion of some had begun when they were shocked and offended by the suggestion that they might be classed with unbelievers.

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[53]Stewart, op. cit., p. 25.

[54]Ibid., p. 26.

The movement at Moulin continued into the first two years of the nineteenth century. In 1800, when Stewart wrote his account of the awakening, he attempted a statistical analysis of those who had become "truly enlightened with the saving knowledge of Christ." The total number was reckoned to be about seventy. Their division according to age groups was as follows: one above 70 years of age; one, aged 66; six or seven about 50; several about 40; and the great majority under 30. In addition, Stewart noted that among children under 12 or 14, "there are a good many who seem to have a liking to religion; but we find it difficult to form a decided opinion of their case."[55] Letters to Mr. Black in the Autumn of 1800 testified to the continuation of the revival. On 20th October, 1800, Stewart exclaimed: "Such hungering and thirsting after communion with God! Such genuine humility and contrition for sin! Such devotedness to the Saviour! Old converts quickened, and new ones added to the Lord!"[56] Approximately one year later the "Missionary Magazine" reported: "We rejoice in hearing that the revival of religion in Moulin . . . is still going on. The progress, we are informed, is indeed more silent and gradual, and to common observation less perceptible than at first. But it cannot be doubted there is progress."[57] On 1st July, 1802, Stewart wrote an appendix which was attached to a second edition of his original account of the revival. In it he testified that the number of converts "has been evidently increasing since the date of the preceeding account."[58] However, he does not venture to give a specific

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[55] Ibid., p. 24.

[56] Sievewright, op. cit., p. 156.

[57] Couper, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

[58] Stewart, op. cit., p. 33.

statistic. It also becomes indirectly obvious from reading this appendix that the movement in Moulin was gradually coming to a close by the middle of 1802. For rather than providing an account of continuing to receive and visit new evellies, Stewart primarily calls attention to the continuing growth and maturity of those who had previously been converted. His updated report was actually an affirmation that the revival had been valid. Evidence of this claim was that "their humble, inoffensive, affectionate behaviour, toward their connections, their neighbours, and each other, has evinced that the grace of God which was bestowed on them was not in vain; that the views they had received of divine truth, were neither delusive nor unfruitful; and did not issue in barren speculations, or mystical fancies, or transient raptures, but in sound permanent principles of conduct."[59] Particularly gratifying also was that in the parish as a whole there was a general desire for religious instruction, an interest in living a godly, Christian life, and a faithful number in attendance at public worship and the ordinances of religion. This supplemented the observation which Stewart had made two years earlier. In his original account he had stated that those who had truly been converted had developed an appetite for Christian knowledge and that their speech and general behaviour was "devout and sober-minded." Young people attended a Sabbath School and adults appeared to meet in homes to read the Scriptures rather than to spend their Lord's day evenings "in sauntering about the fields and woods in gossiping parties."[60] Another external sign of improvement had been that the observance of "late wakes" had been reformed. The general custom in

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[59] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[60] Ibid., p. 28.

the Highlands was for people to assemble to watch by the body of a deceased member of the community. At these gatherings the whole night was spent "in childish, noisy sports and pastimes." Since the beginning of the revival, that practice had been almost completely discontinued in Moulin. Instead, the people spent their wakes "in reading the Bible or some religious book, and in sober conversation."[61]

Along with such a glowing report, Stewart did attempt to give a balanced appraisal of the condition of the parish in 1802. The increased attendance at public worship was an indication of sincere dedication among a certain number of parishioners. Yet, the minister expressed the reservation that there were still many who gave attention to the external exercise of public worship without applying its content to their own relationship with God. Stewart was also concerned about another segment of the congregation whom he described as being in "a kind of intermediate state." These persons did seem to be interested in religion. But they were hesitant and cautious in their enquiry into Christianity. Stewart speculated that because of "some obstructions, either in their temper, or in their worldly circumstances, or in their domestic relations, [they] are making little or no perceptible progress."[62] Thus, satisfied that a considerable number had permanently devoted themselves to receiving the saving knowledge of Christ, the minister of Moulin maintained a good hope that for those who were unconverted "God would be pleased to pour out his Spirit yet more and more, and gather increasing numbers into the Redeemer's Kingdom, till the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord."[63]

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 33.

[63] Ibid., p. 35.

However, that hope was not to be fulfilled at least by way of a further extension of the revival that had been in progress. Writing in 1808 to an English minister at Staffordshire, Stewart attested that after 1802

> "there did not appear any accession to the number of converts. The bulk of the people appeared satisfied with lending their approbation to what they saw and heard, and attending regularly to ordinances, but there was no more pressing into the kingdom of heaven. The heavens appeared to be shut up, and the showers were withheld. Of those who formed our little Christian society, some were in Providence removed to a distance, and others were called home by death, so that our numbers began to lessen, rather than increase."[64]

Alexander Stewart remained in Moulin for several years following the apparent discontinuation of the movement. Then, on 26th September, 1805, he was translated to Dingwall. From that pastorate he maintained a deep concern for the situation in Moulin. Not only did he return to visit his first parish, but some of the "evellíes" walked to Dingwall on at least one occasion to renew their fellowship with their former pastor. In 1808, Stewart presented a frustrating description of the Moulin parish. "I hear but melancholy accounts of the greater part of the people. They are growing careless and licentious, -- I fear against their better knowledge and conviction. But the few godly keep close together; they continue to meet often together, for prayer and conference, and love and cherish one another. I have visited them repeatedly since my settlement here, and found them 'sorrowful and rejoicing.'"[65]

Stewart's ministry in Dingwall was not distinguished by any movement which was regarded as a revival. On the contrary, it was a

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[64]Sievewright, op. cit., p. 247.

[65]Ibid., pp. 247-248.

difficult period in his life. He suffered serious deterioration of his physical health. This factor plus his anxiety to be once again used to awaken souls resulted in moments of depression. Once, while reflecting over his lack of power in the pulpit, he made an interesting notation regarding the practice of extemporaneous preaching which he had adopted.

> "I have been led to see that I have been too remiss in my preparations for the pulpit, not taking due pains to study my subject, to study the scriptures in reference to it, to have my own heart affected with it, and to obtain the Holy Spirit's assistance in enforcing it upon my hearers. It is my earnest prayer that my gracious divine Master, in whose work I am engaged, if it be his good pleasure to send me out again into his vineyard, would dispose me to be more diligent in these respects for the future; that he would impress my heart with a deeper sense of the importance of the work, and of the value of the precious souls committed to my care; and that he would strengthen my memory and enlighten my understanding, that I may understand the scriptures, and make a proper and seasonable application of them to the consciences of my hearers. It is my purpose, through the grace given to me, to take more time, and to write more of my discourses than formerly, as I think my neglect of writing has been one principal reason of my being superficial and barren in my illustrations and exhortations."[66]

Stewart remained in Dingwall until 1819, when his health became sufficiently weakened that he was required to retire to Edinburgh. In 1820, one year before his death, he attempted to return to the parish ministry by accepting the first charge in the Canongate Church, Edinburgh. Interestingly enough, Alexander Stewart has been remembered by the records of the Church of Scotland, not primarily as the leader of a significant revival, but as a Gaelic scholar.[67]

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[66] Ibid., p. 285. Although this resolution was entered into Stewart's diary on 11th March, 1807, as has already been noted, he left in his memoirs very few written sermons.

[67] During the revival, Stewart published Elements of Gaelic Grammer in 1801. It became such a basic textbook that four editions were printed, the last one in 1879. While at Dingwall, Mr. Stewart was the key figure in establishing a school in which children would be taught

The Revival at Moulin was the first such movement in Scotland to gain public attention since the awakenings at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742. It was also the first of several revivals in the Highlands and Islands which attracted public notice. There are a number of noteworthy observations which can be made from the material available regarding the awakening at Moulin.

First, the central figure in the movement was the minister, Alexander Stewart. There appeared to be a direct relationship between the proclaimed conversion of Stewart and the commencement of the revival.

The movement centered in the preaching of evangelical doctrine in public worship. The doctrine of regeneration, the all-sufficient grace of Jesus Christ, the total depravity of man, justification by faith alone, the dogmatic division of mankind into believers vs. non-believers -- these were the primary themes of the pulpit discourses which almost completely replaced Stewart's earlier sermons which had concentrated upon mankind's necessary responses to God's grace, i.e. pure morals, unimpeachable ethics, and Christian virtues. The efficacy of these extemporaneous evangelical sermons could neither be credited to Stewart's public speaking ability nor limited to the preacher himself. For it was noted that the preaching of guest ministers was also used to call forth a response from certain parishioners.

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in the vernacular language. The principal contribution to the Church for which Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae remembered Stewart was that as "a proficient Gaelic scholar, he did great service to the Highlands in revising the translation of the Scriptures in his native language." -- vol. I, p. 26. The General Assembly also recognized Stewart as a Gaelic scholar. In both the 1819 and 1820 meetings, the Assembly expressed its gratitude to Stewart for his work on the Quarto Edition of the Gaelic Bible. -- See The Principal Acts of the General Assembly, etc. Sess. 8, May 28, 1819, p. 50; and Sess. 8, May 26, 1820, p. 44. Finally, regarding church records, Couper points to the strange fact that in the Session minutes of Moulin there is no reference whatever to the revival. -- See footnote, Couper op. cit., p. 84.

The sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, were given a prominent emphasis during the period of the revival. The Sacrament of Baptism and the celebration of the Lord's Supper were each the subject of a separate series of sermons which were intended to educate the parish as to their correct observance of these religious ordinances. Ironically, these discourses on the sacraments rigidly stressed the necessity of participants being in a state of worthiness before receiving them. As other pulpit themes had shifted from works to unconditional grace, the thesis relating to the sacraments was upon the attainment of Christian status as a prerequisite to the worthy receiving those "holy signs and seals". It was during the sacramental seasons that two notable events took place which contributed to the revival at Moulin. During the services on Sacrament Sabbath in 1796, Alexander Stewart reputedly saw "the light." Also, several other persons at that occasion were inspired by the preaching of Charles Simeon. Then, in 1798, admission to the Lord's Table was strictly limited. This celebration was credited with awakening the conscientious concern of a number of persons in the community. Finally, it has been observed that during the revival the Lord's Supper was dispensed a second time in 1798 -- a rare event in Scotland at that period of her Presbyterian history.

Although public worship and the Lord's Supper were the focal points of revival, there were other particular gatherings which played a significant role in the revival. These took several forms. One type was the voluntary gatherings of groups of persons to meet in a home or the manse for prayer and meditation. Another was the spontaneous gatherings of small groups following public worship for the purpose of discussing Christian beliefs. And similarly, there were a few laymen

who were so respected for their Christian knowledge that those who had been awakened to enquire about Christian truth visited those more mature Christians in their homes. The participation of laymen as "helpers" and "fellow-labourers" with the minister was a noteworthy contribution to the progress of revival in the parish. Also the concept of adults meeting together in small groups for prayer and discussion was a comparatively new form of ministry in Scotland at that time. Less structured than the traditional gatherings for public worship or family worship, these small groups apparently developed spontaneously among persons who felt an expressed need for an intimate fellowship in which there would be an opportunity for friends to share their questions, their beliefs, their doubts, and their knowledge of Christianity.

There was an obvious emphasis upon knowledge. Although he denounced those who made salvation dependent upon a certain level of learning, Stewart, nevertheless, placed a high value upon the attainment of knowledge. A scholar in his own right, the minister of Moulin laboured throughout his ministry for the promotion of better education in the Highlands.[68] Instruction in the doctrine of the Christian faith became a primary motivation in his parish ministry as well. The words "true light," "enlightenment," and "saving knowledge" which occurred frequently in the memoirs and in the account of the revival were used synonymously. When Stewart publicly proclaimed to have received the "true light," he noted that an immediate result was that he taught and preached about Christ with some degree of knowledge and confidence. When he applied his discourses to his listeners, he usually included

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[68] In addition to Stewart's interests and labours in behalf of the improvements in education, he took an active part while in Dingwall in the formation of a society in Inverness to promote the education of the poorer class of Highlanders on a more extensive scale. -- See Sievewright, op. cit., p. 345.

an exhortation that they study the Scriptures. The sermons of Stewart were intentionally instructive. Discourses such as those upon the sacraments and upon regeneration were delivered for the purpose of teaching the people the true doctrine of the Christian faith. Certainly one of the characteristics of the movement at Moulin was that the people showed an increased desire for religious instruction. Young people attended a Sabbath School. Groups of adults read, studied, and discussed their beliefs with one another. Far from being an emotional revival of religion, the movement at Moulin could be regarded as an educational awakening of Christian doctrine and belief.

There was an atmosphere of expectancy during the weeks leading toward the revival. While the exact importance of this factor to the occurrence of a revival cannot be specifically measured, it deserves notice. Stewart's declaration of spiritual poverty was asserted to have affected a stirring among the people of the parish. Their attendance and their attention at public worship had the new motivation of anticipation. Thus, there is reason to speculate that this spirit of expectancy in public worship which, in this case, anticipated the conversion of their own minister, was a vital factor in the preparation of many persons to experience their own awakening at public worship. And, in fact, conversions did not take place until the people's anticipation was satisfied.

Finally, it may be affirmed that the revival at Moulin had a permanent affect upon a certain number of individual lives. The converts credited to the movement were a minority of the population of the parish. Thus, while the revival caused much increased religious activity in the community, it did not create a noticeable change in the parish as a whole. And soon after his translation, Stewart

confessed alarm over reports of the growing licentiousness among the majority of the people. Nevertheless, the few who were converted did maintain a faithful witness to the validity of the revival upon their own lives. In addition to the evidence already given, further testimony to this fact was later added. In 1811, William H. Burns, the minister at Kilsyth, visited Moulin during a journey through the Perthshire Highlands. He testified that he "found unquestionable evidence, in my short visit to Moulin, of the reality of the far-famed revival in that district."[69] Burns conducted family worship for several parishioners "in the largest room in the inn" at Moulin during his overnight stay and related that he had an interesting conversation with two men who had been converted during the revival and had subsequently served as elders before Stewart moved from the parish. Regarding one of those men Burns paid the following compliment: "I have seldom, if ever, met with a man of his station so interesting; his piety so humble and yet transparent, so full of love to the Saviour and to his cause."[70] Burns went on to observe that the movement in Moulin had extended its influence upon the state of religion in some areas of the country beyond the bounds of the parish.

Enough interest in the movement was maintained in the Church to cause a former classmate of Stewart to consider re-publishing a limited edition of the latter's account of the revival at Moulin. In 1815, Stewart wrote a reply to an enquiry from his friend offering to write either a preface or a postscript to the proposed re-printing. However, there is no evidence that the project was carried out.

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[69]Burns, op. cit., p. 127.

[70]Ibid., p. 126.

In the autumn of 1817, William M'Gavin, well-known at that time as the author of "The Protestant," went on a "missionary tour" through the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. He and his companions visited Moulin and recorded a rather discouraging picture of the parish..

> "We heard enough to lead us to infer, that little good has been done in the parish since the above gentleman [Rev. Alexander Stewart] left it. Indeed, our informant gave us to understand, that at one time they had been rather annoyed by too much religion. Even the ladies, it seems, could talk about it, and almost preach; and 'we used to have missionaries going about us, but they are all disannulled now.' The truth, however, has neither been starved, nor driven out of the parish, having found refuge in a small society of Baptists."[71]

By 1839, the small society of Baptists had declined to three families in the parish of Moulin. Nevertheless, the revival at the beginning of the century was not forgotten. Duncan Campbell, minister of Moulin and author of the article about that parish in The New Statistical Account of Scotland, described the revival as an "historical event of considerable importance"[72] which "at the time created no small sensation in this country."[73] Campbell went on to affirm that in 1839 the memory of the revival was still vivid to many in the community and that "a few of those, who were in 1800 accounted subjects of conversion, are still living, and have uniformly through life, by the piety and consistency of their conduct, given proof of the reality of the saving change that had been effected on their heart."[74]

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[71] The Posthumous Works of the Late William M'Gavin, vol. I, p. clxxxviii.

[72] The New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. X, p. 645.

[73] Ibid., pp. 647-648.

[74] Ibid., p. 648.

One final testimony of the validity of the conversions which occurred during the revival at Moulin was contained in a letter published in "The Witness" on 10th March, 1860. The epistle was in support of a proposal to erect a new Free Church building at "Pitlochrie" in lieu of the edifice at Moulin. The author claimed to have acquired at Moulin "early tastes and impulses which have animated and influenced me through life."[75] He included in his tribute to the parish a reminder of its revival at the beginning of the century. He asserted that some of the converts of that movement "were Christians of extraordinary spiritual gifts and graces. They were, for many, many years, the light and life of the parish."[76] This letter, which was dated from Calcutta on 9th January, 1860, was signed by Alexander Duff. Moulin and the revival in that parish held a special place in the heart of that famous missionary to India because both of his parents had been among the converts of that movement. James Duff and Jean Rattray were both "evellies" before they were seventeen years of age. Some years later they were married and one of their sons was Alexander Duff.

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[75] "The Witness" vol. XXI, No. 2174, Saturday, March 10, 1860.

[76] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE REVIVAL ON THE ISLE OF ARRAN, 1812 - 13

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Isle of Arran was virgin soil for a religious revival. Throughout its coarse, grim history, Arran had never been the scene of religious zeal. The island was in many ways remote and primitive. Three main occupations were the sources for the livelihood of the five thousand inhabitants. The primary vocation was farming. This was carried out by a primitive communal system whereby five to ten families leased a farm from the laird on which they raised black cattle and in which they cultivated a scant production of crops. The most successful commodity from the soil was potatoes, which served as the principal food for nine months of the year. The second occupation was fishing. This business was especially concentrated between July and November when herring frequented the waters around Arran. The Rev. John Hamilton explained in The Statistical Account of Scotland of 1793 that "the sea-coast abounds with fish of different kinds, such as herring, salmon, scate, cod, ling, lythe, flounder, haddock, whiting, etc. but the inhabitants have not acquired the art of being very beneficial to themselves in fishing any of these but herring."[1] The third means of pursuing a living was by illicit distillation and smuggling. This pastime was common in Arran in the eighteenth century and until the end of the first third of the nineteenth century. In his section about "Folk History,"

[1]John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. IX, p. 168.

W.M. MacKenzie devotes a number of pages to the annals of the distillery and smuggling business which, he claims, "by the close of the eighteenth century had grown to the proportions of a national industry."[2] A feature of the inner remoteness of Arran was the problem of transportation. "Sixty years ago," wrote John M'Arthur in 1873, "there was not a single road or bridge in the Island. The people lived in the meanest hovels, and were clad in garments of the coarsest home manufacture."[3] To further add to its isolation, Arran had but two harbours, viz. Lamlash, on the southeast side of the island, and Lochranza, at the northern point. The latter was a safe port for the small herring boats, but the former was dangerously rocky "and many shipwrecks happened there before the light-house was erected"[4] at the close of the eighteenth century.

The oblong island (24 miles in length by 10 miles in breadth) was divided into two parishes. Kilbride occupied the eastern side of the island from Lochranza to Dippin. The parish kirk was located in the south-central area near the harbour of Lamlash. The other parish was called Kilmory . It extended along the western length of the island from Lochranza to the southeast corner at Dippin. Inland, the parishes were separated by a ridge of hills and by a spacious "common moor" in

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[2]W.M. MacKenzie, The Book of Arran, vol. II, p. 129. Inspite of the noteable space he apportioned to this subject, MacKenzie concluded that "this chapter would not contain all that is told of the sad, mad but exciting and profitable days, when up on the solitary moor by the burn side, the malt bubbled and the whisky trickled into the handy kegs, and on dark, stormy nights from the creeks on the coast, muffled and mysterious boats shot out on another venturesome run to expectant customers along the Ayrshire coast; or when the gaugers in a sudden swoop upturned the innocent-looking straw heap or bedding to hunt for the offending liquor, countering the blows of angry men and of women more angry and desperate still." pp. 136-137.

[3]John M'Arthur, The Antiquities of Arran, p. 174.

[4]John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. VIII, p. 581.

the central rigion. There were two places of worship in the parish of Kilmorie. The main kirk was that which had been rebuilt at Kilmorie in 1785. Kilmorie was located at the southern end of Arran. Six miles to the northwest was Shadog, the site of a chapel where the minister of Kilmorie occasionally held public worship. For the very northern district there was a mission chapel at Lochranza which was served by a catechist who was regarded as a kind of assistant to both parish ministers. The lives of the parishioners were characterised by stress and travail. Both parish ministers noted the problems of diseases, especially a species of locked jaw "which seems to be peculiar to this island....called the eight-day sickness"[5] and which was particularly fatal to newborn children. Added to their total situation was a deep belief in superstitions. Even as late as 1873, M'Arthur observed that "the belief in fairies and witches, in the mysteries of Deuteroscopia or Second Sight, and in the power of the Evil Eye, still lingers in the minds of the older inhabitants."[6]

In this environment, religious life and worship was dull and, at best, tepid. To Lowlanders, such as James Haldane and John Campbell who journeyed through the island in 1800, the impression received was that Arran "'was a kind of heathen part of Scotland; so it was, as among the heathens abroad under our missionaries.'"[7] So vivid was their experience that forty-nine years later at his Jubilee Meeting, James Haldane recalled attending a sacramental occasion in a parish church on Arran "when there was a pause, and none of the people seemed

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[5]Ibid., p. 579.

[6]M'Arthur, op. cit., p. 175.

[7]Robert Philip, The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises, of the Rev. John Campbell, p. 294.

disposed to approach the Communion table. On a sudden he heard the crack of sticks, and looking round saw one discend on the bald head of a Highlander behind him. It was the ruling elders driving the poor people forward to the tables, much in the same manner as they were accustomed to pen their cattle at a market. Had this happened in a remote corner of Popish Ireland it would have been less wonderful, but the Gaelic population of Presbyterian Arran seemed accustomed to submit to this rough discipline without a murmur."[8] Indeed, explained The Book of Arran, what the Lowlanders did not realize was that such a scene was not unique in Arran or even to other parts of the Highlands. "It was, and to some extent still is, a mark of Highland piety to be unwilling to 'go forward' to the Communion table, to delay, to hesitate, to be adjured by the officiating clergyman, to be pushed and encouraged by neighbours."[9] Nevertheless, MacKenzie admitted that "what Mr. Haldane saw was a perhaps extreme and ludicrous instance of this modesty."[10] Furthermore, there was other evidence that the religious state of Arran at the beginning of the nineteenth century was depressed. The Rev. Angus M'Millan, who was appointed as catechist at Lockranza in 1812, used the text "'Darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people'"[11] to describe the situation. Another who was well acquainted with the island was the Rev. David Landsborough,

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[8]Alexander Haldane, Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane, p. 281.

[9]MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 205. The author, who wrote this work in 1914, claimed to be an eyewitness of such Highland "backwardness" with regard to external Communion practices.

[10]Ibid. In fact, it is questionable that this custom would have been common in Arran or any other Highland parishes until well into the nineteenth century.

[11]Mrs. Lundie Duncan, History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, p. 321.

who frequently explored Arran.[12] He commented that although Arran was "nominally Protestant, it partook of the general deadness during the last century."[13] These appraisals should also be weighed against the insights of the parish ministers in Arran. At Kilmorie, John Hamilton, who had been the parish minister since 1862, simply characterised the people as "very charitable, and attentive to real indigence."[14] However, Gershom Stewart, who had been raised in the manse at Kilbride since he was six years old and had succeeded his father in 1747, appraised his parishioners with the following comments: "The whole inhabitants belong to the Established Church, and are a sober well disposed people. They attend divine service with great regularity; are well acquainted with the Scriptures; shew a good example to their children, and instruct them in the principles of Christianity."[15] Though it depended upon one's point of view, it appears that, generally, the religious state of Arran at the close of the eighteenth century was neither desperately bad or inspirationally good. The people accepted religion as it was ministered to them in the same resigned manner with which they received their grim lot in life. It was all that they knew.

Evidence that the first movement towards a religious revival began with the itinerant preachers of the S.P.G.H. is circumstantial.

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[12]The Rev. David Landsborough (1779-1854) was minister of Stevenston Parish Church from 1811-1843. He then joined the Free Church as minister of Saltcoats. As a student of Natural History who specialised in the study of seaweeds, Landsborough often visited Arran. He was sometimes called "The Gilbert White of Scotland."

[13]David Landsborough, Arran: a Poem, and Excursions to Arran, p. 107.

[14]Sinclair, vol. IX, op. cit., p. 169.

[15]Sinclair, vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 582.

Most of the authors who comment on the revivals at Arran make no mention of this influence. However, it must be noted that the first indications of a possible religious awakening occurred in that area of Arran and almost immediately following the activities of the S.P.G.H. in that section of Scotland. Following their tour of Arran and Kintyre in 1800, J. Haldane and J. Campbell returned to Edinburgh disturbed by the opposition they had encountered from magistrates and clergy and convinced that the true gospel needed to be proclaimed, especially in the language of the people. They were encouraged to find a young graduate of the University of Glasgow who was a native of Kintyre and who agreed to go to that area as an independent preacher. Though Mr. Macullum established a chapel in Kintyre, he also occasionally traveled along the western shores of Arran. In 1802, Campbell visited Mr. Macullum to observe the "signal success" of his first two years of labour. "'I found that his head-quarters were at the very town where we (Campbell and Haldane) had been arrested,'" reported Campbell, "'and that he regularly visited out-stations in the region round about....I paid a visit with Mr. Macullum and a young man, to the western side of the islands of Arran, in order to preach at a few places.'"[16] The fact of such preaching tours on the island plus the fact that the first distinguishable signs of revival did not begin at any of the preaching stations of the Established Church, is indirect evidence for the contention that the work of the S.P.G.H. was a background factor in the revival in Arran. MacKenzie goes so far as to claim for Haldane and his associates that "they it was who sowed the

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[16]Philip, op. cit., pp. 291-292. No details here or in the writings from the S.P.G.H. are given about Campbell and Haldane's arrest.

fiery seed."[17] Further support for this case was that the Independents received such a favourable response in the northern region of Arran that a church was formed in Glen Sannox. Subsequently, in 1806, the Rev. Alexander Mackay became the resident pastor of that Independent congregation.

A second possible influence upon the brief but noteworthy awakening of 1804-05 was the private labours of young Angus M'Millan. M'Millan (1776-1843) who later became minister of Kilmorie in 1822, was a native of North Sannox. Having been converted at Kilmarnock, he entered Glasgow University in 1803 to prepare for the ministry. At the close of each session he returned to his native village where "'he opened a Sabbath school and a weekly prayer meeting, both of which were well attended and highly valued by the inhabitants of the surrounding district.'"[18] From this testimony, W.J. Couper adduced that M'Millan himself may well have been "the means used in the movement."[19] A tract by M'Millan is the primary source for the revival at Arran.[20] In it he gave no credit to any person or to any religious group as being the instrument of a new spiritual awakening.

As there is no distinguishable source for the activities of 1804-05, so also there are no details of what took place. M'Millan merely provided a summary commentary which recorded that in 1804 and 1805 "'many were awakened at the north end of the island, especially

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[17]MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 206.

[18]W.J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 89. Couper does not reveal the source of this quotation.

[19]Ibid.

[20]This narration has been preserved in Mrs. Duncan's work, History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles. In quoting the narrative part in full, Mrs. Duncan asserted that M'Millan's tract was probably the only account of the revival in print. (p. 321)

about the farms of Sannox and their neighbourhood. And although this awakening, as to its power and progress, was not of long continuance, yet a considerable number of the subjects of it testified, by their after lives and conversation, that they had undergone a gracious change.'"[21] The effects of this spiritual stirring was not restricted to the area of Glen Sannox, but spread into parts of both parishes. M'Millan claimed that "'in the course of a few years, a kind of reformation was thus visible throughout many parts of the island.'"[22] Many people became more conscientious in attending public worship. A goodly number of families established morning and evening worship in their homes. In addition, fellowship meetings were set up in various places. The increase in religious activity was very slow and gradual. At the time it was not as exceptional as its cumulative affect indicated. Nevertheless, hindsight clearly and unquestionably fixed the year 1804 as the commencement of an evangelistic movement which would culminate in a remarkable revival in 1812.

Though the initial signs of religious renewal began in the northern area of Arran without the leadership of a parish minister, the focus of the reformation which had been inaugurated soon shifted to the Established kirk at Kilmorie. The minister of that parish was Neil M'Bride (1764-1814) who had come to Kilmorie 18th November, 1802, after having served the Presbytery of Tongue for two years as a missionary at Eriboll. He was well acquainted with life on Arran because he had been born on a farm at Auchencarn in the parish of Kilbride. The effect of the Rev. M'Bride's preaching began to be felt during the 1804-05 awakening in the north. Though this early

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[21] Mrs. Duncan, op. cit., p. 321.

[22] Ibid., p. 322.

manifestation of religious revival was viewed as a part of the general movement that had originated from the north, the zeal kindled in Kilmorie continued to spread after it had been extinguished in other parts of Arran. In the years leading up to 1810, the gradual awakening in Kilmorie was centered in the Sabbath service of public worship and, more specifically, in the preaching of Mr. M'Bride. Attendance at public worship soon expanded beyond the church building's capacity. It became common to hold public worship in the church yard. And, in winter, when services were compelled to be in the church, people who could not be accommodated within were reported to have stood outside.[23] In 1810, the church edifice was enlarged by the addition of "an aisle or outshot, with gallery," which enabled the building to seat 832 persons.[24] Nevertheless, inspite of these encouraging features of increased interest in Christianity, of worshippers travelling great distances to attend public worship, of individual lives undergoing moral and spiritual elevations, it was admitted that there were still a large portion of the inhabitants who gave no indication of being attracted to the movement. In fact, by 1810, a notable element within the 3,000 plus members of that parish which stretched along the Arran coast for thirty miles were repelled by the results of the revival. A kind of legalism against "unholy practices" was promoted by the spiritually aroused worshippers. They were enthusiastic for instituting a reformation aimed towards righteousness. But those outside the movement impatiently regarded such efforts as attempts to restrain their way of life. Hence, for a period, there occurred a spontaneous

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[23]The New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. V, p. 66. The article on the Parish of Kilmorie was compiled by Alexander M'Bride, who was born in the manse at Kilmorie in 1807.

[24]Ibid., p. 64.

reaction against righteous living. Although The Book of Arran minimized the significance of this rebellion by the argument that the island "was not Nineveh" and that "after all the opportunities of serious evil-doing were surely pretty restricted,"[25] it had a relative impact upon the entire movement. M'Millan viewed with alarm that "'in 1810 and 1811, many were bolder in sin, and more abandoned to wickedness, than they had been at any former period.'"[26] It seemed as though the bulk of non-professing Christians, especially among the young people of the parish, had reacted against the movement within the church. The effect of this reaction was deeply disturbing to M'Bride and the worshippers at Kilmorie. But they were not disillusioned by these events. On the contrary, the religious community continued to be "remarkably consistent" in their convictions. And M'Bride became more intense in his disapprobation from the pulpit against wickedness. The religious people evidenced increased zeal for the salvation of sinners. Small gatherings were mutually arranged to meet frequently for prayer. Certain days were set aside for private fasting and prayer. This silent, yet devoted, counter-movement was persistently maintained for a full year. M'Millan reflected that during that period, the religious people appeared to feel more connected to the devotional exercises of worship. Both in their fellowship meetings and in the sanctuary, the people experienced a new feeling of being participants in worship.[27] Even though the religious community did intensify their concern and their efforts for evangelism, when the events occurred which became known as "The Revival of Religion in Arran," it caused no

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[25]MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 207.

[26]Duncan, op. cit., p. 323.

[27]Ibid., p. 324.

little astonishment. M'Millan made the interesting observation that "'about the beginning of March 1812, the Lord began to work in an unusual way among them, in a way of which they had not till this time any expectation, and which, accordingly caused some surprise.'"[28]

There were two special features in the proceedings of the Revival of 1812-13. The first remarkable feature was that those who were initially affected by the movement were among the people already regarded as professing Christians. Spiritually minded persons who had participated in the previous year's intensive religious exercises were the first fruits of the evangelistic movement. In fact, the very first external signs of revival were seen in the fellowship meetings just prior to the manifestations which thereafter occurred at public worship. The second prominent aspect of the revival was the overwhelming presence of emotionalism that was demonstrated. This trait was first expressed by "outcryings" from among those mentioned above who were already members of the religious community. Tradition has stated that the first person to be overcome in that manner was a man whose cry was so powerful that the fellowship meeting was disrupted and some of the people departed.[29] However, such outbursts began to occur in public worship. Some of those who first gave vent to their emotions personally attested to M'Millan that "'they had not the most remote idea of crying out before they were constrained to do so. So much was this the case, that they said they could not have refrained, even if they had been threatened with instant death.'"[30] From the religiously earnest to the religiously interested, the revival

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Couper, op. cit., p. 90.

[30] Duncan, op. cit., p. 325.

spread and continued to manifest itself by outcryings. And soon, the movement reached "'the gay and thoughtless, the moral, and the openly wicked. Persons of almost every description and age, from nine years or under, to that of sixty or upwards, were affected; but the number of old people was small compared with that of the young.'"[31] As the scope of persons affected by the revival expanded, so did the display of emotionalism. In some people, the vocal outbursts were accompanied by such bodily agitations as "'panting, trembling, and other convulsive appearances.'"[32] MacKenzie's research uncovered an anonymous witness who provided the following description: "'Clapping of hands and exclamations were common in the congregation among some of the people. It was disturbing to many who went to church to worship. One member encouraged it and another denounced it; for it was known that a few of those professing were questionable characters, though doubtless there were many true Christians among them. A farmer whom I knew was so much excited at the time that he day after day mounted his horse and rode through the fields, singing aloud with heart and soul the Psalms of David to the tunes that are usually sung in Church.'"[33] A contemporary critic of the movement charged that the people were led to believe that conversions ought to be sudden and plainly seen. In his descriptive essay on Arran written in 1834, John Paterson referred to the revival of 1812-13. He depicted clergymen or other persons, who were credited with possessing the Holy Spirit, leading religious meetings in which "great numbers, especially of women and children, were moved in a most extraordinary manner, uttering strange cries,

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[31] Ibid., pp. 324-325.

[32] Ibid., p. 325.

[33] MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 208.

trembling, and falling into convulsions, so that the service could not go on with regularity."[34] Paterson accused the parish minister with encouraging the external displays of conversion and with teaching that the work of the Holy Spirit should be as obviously visible then as in the days of the Apostolic Church. Alexander M'Bride did not agree with such indictments against his father. He avowed that Rev. M'Bride discouraged rather than motivated the outward manifestations of the movement. He claimed that the minister of Kilmorie generally disapproved of emotionalism and that Mr. M'Bride endeavoured frequently "'to check them'" with pastoral "'tenderness and love.'".[35] Angus M'Millan testified that the people were often warned against the erroneous opinion that external effects must be demonstrated if the Holy Spirit was truly at work and that there was no valid conversion without such visible evidence. He recognized that some people placed too much emphasis upon "bodily excitement," yet, at the same time, he was confident that at least the truly pious members of the parish regarded these effects in their proper perspective. Also, there were some converts from the revival who never displayed such emotionalism, although these cases were admittedly rare after March, 1812.

The extent and the height of emotionalism which characterized the revival was unusual and unexpected. What causes could be attributed to it? The movement was centered in public worship and especially, in the preaching of Neil M'Bride. Unfortunately, his sermons were never printed or preserved. He was an evangelical minister, and

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[34] John Paterson, "Account of the Island of Arran", Prize-Essays and Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, new series vol. V, p. 142. (Paterson was the Factor to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.)

[35] Couper, op. cit.

presumably he did not read his sermons. Without the benefit of M'Bride's actual sermons, the historian is restricted to the brief record that was given regarding the subject. This testimony was from Angus M'Millan, who was respectfully like-minded to Mr. M'Bride. M'Millan recorded that the minister at Kilmorie was neither an alarmist nor a sensationalist preacher. Indeed, commented the future minister of Kilmorie, M'Bride's usual manner of preaching "'was very much distinguished for seriousness, fervour, and great zeal for the salvation of sinners; and this often led him to make very close appeals to the conscience.'"[36] In content, the discourses from the pulpit of Kilmorie were reputed to center in New Testament texts which set forth the doctrine of grace rather than the fear of the law. In fact, M'Millan credited the sermons which stressed "'the consolations of the Gospel'" with exciting a greater response than those sermons whose message would have been considered "'more awful, and apparently better fitted to awaken.'"[37] These insights must be weighed along with the fact that from 1810 M'Bride became "'more earnest in his warnings and remonstrances from the pulpit.'"[38] M'Bride himself was convinced of the convicting power of the Gospel message. He has been ascribed with the following saying which he would occasionally employ at the conclusion of a discourse: "'If you are of the true gold, you will be none the worse for this rubbing.'"[39] Though such meagre gleanings indicate that M'Bride was not visibly emotional in his pulpit mannerisms or unusually exuberant in delivering his discourses, there was an appeal

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[36]Duncan, op. cit., p. 322.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 323.

[39]Couper, op. cit.

to emotions by his intense and quiet manner even though it was not purposely intended. His sermons were accompanied by an effective power. His messages were received with sudden fears and ecstatic relief. M'Millan witnessed religious gatherings in which some people were "'filled with divine love, others with fear; some rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, and others trembling lest they should come short of it; some crying out in accents of praise, and other indicating, by their cries, their dread of everlasting wrath.'"[40] In his private conversations with those emotionally affected during the revival, M'Millan noted that those who were already regarded as active Christians felt that their unsuppressable outcryings and agitations "'arose entirely from the state of their minds, when powerfully impressed and affected with a sense of divine truth.'"[41] Others whom he interviewed, who had made no prior profession for the Christian faith, described their emotional responses as proceeding from initial impressions of being under the desparate conviction of sin which penetrated their lives "'with a painful sense of their helplessness and misery as sinners, and also with earnest desires after an interest in Christ.'"[42] Finally, it must be noted that the emotional manifestations were not confined to public worship or to the preaching of M'Bride. During the peak of the revival, external demonstrations were seen at the ministrations of guest preachers, at fellowship meetings, and even at catechising sessions.[43] The emotionalism of the Revival

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[40]Duncan, op. cit., p. 327.

[41]Ibid., p. 325.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., p. 327. M'Millan recorded an illustration of this which occurred when he was catechising in the Spring of 1813: "'....when speaking of the character of Christ as the Redeemer of God's elect,

at Arran appeared unexpectedly and without precedent. It did not seem to be the intentionally sought-after response by the parish minister. The various religious gatherings in 1811 which increased in fervour may have been a contributing factor in the external manifestations of the movement. For the first outbursts occurred at one of those private meetings and was made by those who had been a part of the activities which were preparatory to the revival. Another factor was the preaching of Neil M'Bride. Although he may not have been a highly vigorous pulpit orator nor an advocate of emotionalism, he was convincingly serious and effectively personal in applying the evangelical doctrines of man's futility under the law, of God's impending judgment upon sinners, and of Christ's atoning grace for the elect. That message from an already popular preacher could easily stir the emotions of the people of Arran. There were indications that as the outcryings and the bodily agitations became more common that such expressions were self-perpetuating. There were signs that emotions were misinterpreted and overly emphasised. Furthermore, as shall be seen, M'Millan's records did not claim that every emotional response was a valid signal of a true conversion. Nevertheless, in some cases the emotionalism was a genuine manifestation of a confession of faith or, for some, a renewal of a commitment previously made. In such cases, emotionalism

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and attempting to describe the preciousness of his blood, and the riches of his grace, an excellent Christian. . . cried out, in an elevated tone of voice, "O the infinite virtue of the blood of Christ - the preciousness of his blood! What am I, what am I, that he should ever spend one thought concerning me! O my nothingness, my nothingness, my nothingness!" And, soon after, she exclaimed, "I shall soon be with thee - I shall soon be with thee - be for ever with thee, Lord!"'" The catechist witnessed similar events on other occasions, observing that those who committed such outbursts were not boasting of their faith but revealed a sense of humility caused by "'a sense of their privileges.'"

was an effect of a spiritual power which was experienced in a remarkable manner in the island of Arran at that time.

The revival begun in March, 1812, noticeably subsided at the end of three months. Then in December it was greatly renewed. During the early months of 1813, the awakening spread throughout the entire parish of Kilmorie and into parts of Kilbride. One influence in the spread of the revival was the labours of Angus M'Millan. In the early autumn of 1812, he was appointed catechist at Lochranza. M'Millan was enthusiastic for the work of evangelism and readily assisted in the awakening. After his appointment at Lochranza, he identified himself as a participant in the work.[44] During that period of the revival, M'Bride also received assistance from certain fellow-ministers from the mainland such as Dr. John Love of Glasgow, Rev. Kenneth Bayne of Greenock, and John Robertson of Rothesay. No reference was made to the parish minister of Kilbride, the Rev. John Stewart. As the awakening reached its zenith, the islanders travelled many miles to hear a sermon. The Sabbath was anxiously anticipated. And sometimes after public worship persons would adjourn to private homes or barns where religious devotions were conducted. "'Some of them spent even whole nights in this way.'"[45] However, in the Spring of 1813, the Revival of Arran began to wane and gradually to come to a close. The following year, on 8th July, 1814, Neil M'Bride died at Lochranza where he had gone to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Although the parishioners expressed a desire to ordain M'Millan as their new minister, the presentation was given to the Rev. Dugald

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[44] Ibid., pp. 327-329. In addition to his mention of being in contact with the movement by his labours as catechist, he began to refer to "our revival," "our religious assemblies," "our meetings."

[45] Ibid., p. 326.

Crawford, who had been an assistant minister in Kilmorie until he was translated in 1799 to the parish of Saddell, in Kintyre. The sixty-three year old minister immediately incurred opposition from the people of Kilmorie by his outspoken attacks against the revival which had so recently ended. It was charged that he discredited the religious experiences of the converts and that he specifically denied the doctrine of regeneration as fanaticism to desire or expect such a change in life.[46] Almost immediately a large majority of the congregation withdrew from his ministry. Under the leadership of a layman, William M'Kinnon, the protesters worshipped in a cave. J. Kennedy Cameron inserted the fact that some of the people attended the ministry of M'Millan, "a few of them having even to leave their homes on Saturday in order to do so."[47] Though they had seceded from the parish kirk and though they received the occasional ministrations of preachers from other denominations, the group professed their attachment to the Established Church. Then, in 1821, Mr. Crawford drowned. Again the people voiced their preference for M'Millan. But again, the vacancy was offered to another minister. However, when the presentee declined the position, the wish of the people was granted. Angus M'Millan was ordained as pastor of Kilmorie in 1822 and served that parish until the Disruption.

Amidst these disturbing events in the parish history of Kilmorie, the effects of the revival were greatly reduced. Paterson made the sweeping criticism that "these conversions produced no apparent good effects on the people."[48] M'Millan acknowledged that during the

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[46]Couper, op. cit., p. 92.

[47]J. Kennedy Cameron, The Church in Arran, p. 114.

[48]Paterson, op. cit.

revival many were affected emotionally without being converted inwardly so that their interests in Christ soon faded away. He also observed that as the awakening ceased, many who had appeared to be affected and who had steadfastly participated in religious activities gradually became indifferent to the Christian faith. Nevertheless, he maintained that a considerable remnant of the estimated 250 converts continued as a testimony of the effectiveness of the revival. Yet even this assertion was qualified with the admission that "'even in respect of the best of us, the zeal, fervour, and liveliness, manifest during the time of our revival, have suffered some decay.'"[49] Similarly, the practice of family worship which, in 1812, became a morning and evening custom in nearly every home continued for a time and then commenced a gradual relaxation until it was "by no means so common."[50] The one custom which grew out of the revival and which became well-known was the practice of the Arran fishermen to engage in worship together when they were out in their boats at night. The reputation of this custom was publicised and preserved in a poem about Arran composed by David Landsborough.[51]

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[49]Duncan, op. cit., p. 329.

[50]The New Statistical Account of Scotland, op. cit., p. 58.

[51]Landsborough, op. cit., p. 89.

"A fleet of fishing-boats in truth it is.
And, oh! how lovely is the sprightly scene!
Of industry how sweet the cheerful sounds,
While thus a morning feast provided is
For thousands fast asleep throughout the land!
And now the nets are set. For little space
Silence ensues; but silence broken soon
By what even choirs seraphic might regale,
And what is with acceptance heard by God.
It is the praises of redeeming love,
Raised from the tranquil bosom of the sea,
In dulcet strains by distance softer made.
The gladdened waves prolong the joyful sound;
The zephyrs bear it on their balmy wings

On the whole, the lasting value of the revival at Arran was in the witness perpetuated by a number of individuals rather than in the transformation of a parish. Such individuals were still to be found on the island in 1836. Mrs. Duncan received the testimony of visitors to Arran that "some aged people still live to tell of what the Lord did for their souls at that happy time."[52] Memories of the revival were also occasionally revived by an outburst of emotional feeling at public worship. M'Millan reported that there were a few persons who were at times affected in the same way, though not to the same degree, as during the revival.[53] And Paterson recorded that in 1834 emotional exhibitions "sometimes occur yet, . . . but they are less popular than they were."[54] Of those individual witnesses to the revival, there were four who became ministers and who became well-known as evangelistic preachers in the Highlands during the first half of the nineteenth century. The first two were brothers who were raised on a farm in Arran. Finlay Cook (1778-1858), who began his evangelistic ministry as a summer missionary at the Lanark cotton mills while he was a student at Glasgow University, gave no serious consideration to religion prior to the revival. He was reputed to be "'one of the most thoughtless, lightheaded young men in the island; indeed he was in the act of jibing and mocking the venerable servent of God [M'Bride] in his

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To the curved shore; the hills re-echo it,
As if unwilling it whould ever die.
Even from Gennes'ret's lake more joyful strains
The Galilean fishermen ne'er raised."

[52]Duncan, op. cit., p. 330.

[53]Ibid., p. 329.

[54]Paterson, op. cit.

pew in the church when the arrows of Divine truth smote him.'"[55] Subsequently Finlay Cook was trained for the ministry. His noteworthy labours as missionary, evangelist, and pastor were exercised in Lewis and in Caithness, especially in the parish of Reay. Like his elder brother, Archibald Cook (1788-1865) was "a fruit of the well-known revival of religion that took place in Arran about the beginning of the present century. The reality of this spiritual change was, in the case of both abundantly manifested in their long after life and labours."[56] His ministry began at the Caithness mission stations of Bruan and Berriedale. In 1837, Archibald Cook translated to North Church, Inverness, an extension charge. Both brothers joined the Free Church at the time of the Disruption. A third convert who devoted his life to the ministry was John Macalister (1789-1844), who was born on a farm at Kilpatrick. His son recorded that "down to the year 1813, he was an unconverted man. The Lord, however, had need of him, and in that year He called him effectually by his grace, bringing him to the saving knowledge of the truth during the wide-spread awakening known as the Arran Revival, under the clear and discriminating ministry of the Rev. Neil M'Bride."[57] Like the Cook brothers, Macalister was influenced during his student days by Dr. Love. Macalister's influential ministry was exercised in the parishes of Glenlyon, Perthshire; the Gaelic Church, Edinburgh; and Nigg, Ross-shire. He joined the Free Church in 1843 and served the Free congregation at Brodick on his native island during the seven months prior to his death. Macalister's

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[55]David Beaton, Some Noted Ministers of the Northern Highlands, p. 240. Quotation from Donald Sage.

[56]Alexander Auld, Ministers and Men in the Far North, p. 123.

[57]Disruption Worthies of the Highlands, p. 169.

most intimate friend was Peter M'Bride (1797-1846). Born to a schoolmaster of North Knapdale, Argyllshire, Peter M'Bride spent most of his youth under the care of his uncle, the Rev. Neil M'Bride. Thus, he was a fifteen year-old lad living in the manse at Kilmorie when the Arran Revival reached its peak. Although he never specifically credited this event as the channel of his conversion, his close friends tentified that "there seems good reason to reckon him one of the many precious fruits of that remarkable Arran awakening."[58] Peter M'Bride devoted his entire ministry to the people of Rothesay. After 1843, as a minister of the Free Church, he was commissioned as an itinerant evangelist to Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands. In this capacity he gained a reputation as an effective preacher. The 1845 General Assembly of the Free Church recognised his work in the awakening at Knapdale. In addition to these well-known converts of the Revival at Arran, J.K. Cameron named two other subjects of that awakening who also became ministers in the Established Church: Peter Davidson (1788-1875), who was a minister in Caithness and later in the Free Church served in Arran, and Archibald Nichol (1798-1884), who ministered primarily in the Shetland Islands.[59]

One area of religious life which has not been mentioned in this account of the Revival of Arran is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The annual "occasion" at Kilmorie was not credited as an event which made a particular contribution to the revival. Its occurrence was seldom noted in the various sources which recorded the ecclesiastical history of the island during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the minutes of the Kilmorie Session during the ministry of Neil

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[58] Ibid., p. 160.

[59] J.K. Cameron, The Church in Arran, p. 112.

M'Bride, the Sacrament was mentioned two times, but neither related to the period of revival.[60] As the revival came to an end in 1813 and for a short period thereafter, the dispensation of the Lord's Supper was celebrated with great solemnity by those who were labeled as true Christians.[61] However, for those who separated from the parish kirk during the ministry of Dugald Crawford, the Sacrament was never administered to them in their cave-sanctuary. A few of them went annually to the Gaelic Chapel at Greenock where they were granted admittance to the Lord's Table by the sympathetic minister, Kenneth Bayne.[62] Therefore, the Sacrament was a part of the religious life of Kilmorie and Kilbride in that it was annually celebrated in each parish according to tradition. Beyond that, it bore no special significance to the revival at Arran. There is no evidence that the Lord's Supper was dispensed at the chapel at Shadog where public worship was conducted every third Sabbath by the Kilmorie minister. Alexander M'Bride recorded that during the period between the two statistical accounts of Scotland, the Sacrament was administered twice at Lochranza, in 1814 by Neil M'Bride and in 1839 by Angus M'Millan.[63]

The Revival at Arran was of short duration and of high emotional intensity. It came and went gradually. And its effect upon the Christian witness on that island also gradually declined. As the

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[60]Minutes of the Kilmory Kirk Session, Island of Arran, 1794-1836, pp. 36-37, 47. 4th July, 1805, M'Bride intimated to the elders that "wranglers and fighters who made a habitual practice of those vices . . . would be debarred from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." 24th July, 1806, the minutes noted that on this day preparatory to the dispensation of the Lord's Supper, persons or families with discord were invited to come before the session for assistance in making peace.

[61]Duncan, op. cit., p. 328. Also, Cameron, op. cit., p. 111.

[62]Cameron, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

[63]The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. V, p. 65.

period of this study came to a close, concern for the decreasing spiritual state of the people of Arran was voiced. In 1834, Paterson, who looked down upon the islanders, presented the following panoramic view of the religious condition of the people: "The people of Arran may be justly described as a religious community. They have generally a competent knowledge of the leading principles of Christianity, mixed, however, with many superstitions, and not a little of what better informed people call fanaticism. Although generally honest in their dealings with one another, they frequently, like the Jews, think it no crime to get as much as they can from strangers, or those in a situation above them in rank."[64] Alexander M'Bride, who had much more emphathy with citizens of his native parish, observed in 1840 that the people maintained an adequate grasp upon the basic doctrines of evangelical Christianity and showed respectful devotion to the ordinances of religion. While he praised the revival for effectively curtailing many Highland customs, superstitions, games, and for practically abolishing such vices as drinking and swearing, M'Bride confessed that the rising generation gave "little promise of walking in the footsteps of their fathers."[65] Landsborough confirmed this report. His excursions to Arran in the 1840's caused him to observe that "there are not a few of the good old seed remaining, who are still walking with God; but their fear is that the spirit of deadness and of formality is gaining ground."[66] Nevertheless, inspite of this bleak view of the aftermath of the movement, the Revival was a significant event in the history of Presbyterianism in Arran. For it did effect a number of lives.

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[64]Paterson, op. cit., p. 143.

[65]The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. V, p. 58.

[66]Landsborough, op. cit., p. 110.

Some of those lives proceeded from the revival to perpetuate an evangelistic ministry in other parts of the Highlands during the Evangelical Revival in Scotland. Other converts who remained in Arran exerted an influence which firmly established a witness to evangelical Christianity. One hundred years after the Revival at Arran, Professor Cameron proposed that the influence of that movement could still be observed "in the people's attachment to an evangelical ministry, and their adherence to the principles of the Reformed Church of Scotland."[67]

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[67] Cameron, op. cit., p. 112.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVIVAL ON THE ISLE OF SKYE, 1812 - 14

The religious setting on the Isle of Skye at the dawn of the nineteenth century is as difficult to describe as is the climate itself of that dramatic, misty island. Druidism, Romanism, Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, and Highland superstitions were the ingredients which variously combined to create a mixture of professions and practices existing under the nomenclature of religion. The Reformation had not penetrated the island as a sweeping spiritual movement. The Roman Catholic religion had not been extinguished on Skye, although it had become centralized into one area. At the close of the eighteenth century, with the exception of two or three living in the Parish of Kilmuir, all Roman Catholics lived in the smaller islands of Eigg, Rum, Canna, and Muck. In that Parish of Small Isles, there lived a priest to minister to the 540 Roman Catholics who comprised 40% of the parish population. Skye, which had been a stronghold for the Jacobite cause, had maintinaed a strong allegiance to Episcopacy for several decades after the eventful year of 1745. However, from about 1775, the Established Church and the Presbyterian form of worship succeeded in becoming the exclusive embodiment of Protestant religion. By 1792, William Bethune, minister of the Parish of Duirinish, declared that all Protestants were of the established Church of Scotland, with the exception of a few who adhered to the Church of England. The latter "frequent the established Church and

communicate at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[1] Highland superstitions had played a prominent role in the customs and convictions of the common people of Skye. Many lives had been affected by beliefs in fairies, witches, ghosts, the evil eye, and second sight. The phases of the moon regulated various operations connected with farming. A number of charms were employed towards the cure of different diseases. Although two eminent visitors during the latter third of the eighteenth century concurred that these superstitions had substantially subsided,[2] there is adequate evidence to support the contention that such beliefs continued to exist as one of the features in the character of the people of Skye as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.[3] Hence, a twentieth century historian of Skye, Alexander Nicolson, concluded that belief in witchcraft, second sight, and fairies was held by many until after the mid-nineteenth

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[1]John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. IV, p. 134.

[2]Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Island of Scotland, p. 97. "The various kinds of superstition which prevailed here, as in all other regions of ignorance, are by the diligence of the Ministers almost extirpated." Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, Vol.III, p. 359. "Very few superstitions exist here at present: pretenders to second-sight are quite out of repute, except among the most ignorant, and at present are very shy of making boast of their faculties."

[3]J.F. Campbell, Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Vol. I, p. xxi. (Campbell orally collected, compiled, and translated a large number of folk stories in 1859 and published them in four volumes in 1860. He observed that "Highland stories, then, have been despised by educated men, and they are as yet unchanged popular tales.") -See also: Mrs. Anne Grant, Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland, Vol. I, pp. 122-263. (Mrs. Grant noted that "the Presbyterian clergy made fierce and open war on all this host of airy terrors. Many of them, however, attempted to root up the old belief in such a rough and contemptuous manner, as served rather to exasperate than convince." p. 258) W.G. Stewart, The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland. (Stewart observed the beginning decline of superstitions, although at the time of his writing, 1822, he testified that "they are still exhibited in the habits of the people." Preface, p. x.)

century and that special credence in the power of the moon to determine the course of events and an influential presumption for the existence of the evil eye could be traced to the end of that century.[4]

Another important aspect in the religious scene at Skye at the commencement of the nineteenth century was the influence of the ministers during the period of the Presbyterian ascendency following "the '45." In general, there was a remarkable number of clergymen noted for their scholarship and culture who served in the parishes of Skye during the last half of the Age of Enlightenment. Dr. Samuel Johnson, who could discern no motive for self-disciplined study in a Highland parish, paid the following high compliment to the ministers he observed at Skye: "I saw not one in the Islands, whom I had reason to think either deficient in learning, or irregular in life; but found several with whom I could not converse without wishing, as my respect increased, that they had not been Presbyterians."[5] The most renowned minister of that time was the Rev. Donald MacQueen, whom Johnson referred to as a "very learned Minister." Minister of Kilmuir from 1740 to 1785, MacQueen has been acclaimed as "the best known and most distinguished minister in the Highlands in his time."[6] In addition to being a distinguished biblical scholar, he was attributed to have been sensitive to the moral and spiritual needs of his parishioners and to have exerted an effective force in dislodging superstitions among the people. His brother, William MacQueen, minister of Snizort from 1754 to 1787, was noted for his gift of oratory and proficient learning. Still others who were highly regarded for their culture

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[4]Alexander Nicolson, History of Skye, pp. 407-408.

[5]Johnson, op. cit., p. 95.

[6]Fasti, Vol. VII, p. 171.

and ability were: Dr. Martin MacPherson, D.D., minister at Sleat from 1765-1812; Dr. Roderick MacLeod, D.D., minister at Bracadale from 1768-1812; Rev. John Nicolson, minister at Portree, 1756-1799; his successor, Rev. Alexander Campbell, minister at Portree, 1799-1811; Rev. William Bethune, minister at Duirinish, 1767-1814; and Rev. Donald Mackinnon, minister at Strath, 1779- 1826. Thus, to the Highland gentry, the ministers at Skye were generally well-received and respected. For the upper classes of the island were also known during the last half of the eighteenth century for their culture and learning. In 1790, Rev. Donald Martin pointed out that "the principal farmers" were well educated.[7] Dr. Johnson had observed during his sojourn "that it was one of the remarkable things of Sky, that there were so many books in it."[8] It was primarily the classics in which the clergymen and the upper classes were so accomplished. Colonel David Stewart underscored the fact that "it was in the remotest district of the kingdom, the Isle of Skye, and other islands, that classical education was most general . . . I believe it is rather unique for the gentry of a remote corner to learn Latin merely to talk to each other; yet so it was in Skye."[9] To the educated clergy and the cultured gentry, certain high morals were most desireable. Enforcement of such standards was administered by the kirk sessions of the churches. Various punishments were devised for those who trespassed against the moral law. Rev. Donald MacQueen reported that "adultery was punished here by dipping the guilty in a pond, or by making him or

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[7] Sinclair, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 550-551.

[8] James Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, With Samuel Johnson, LL.D., p. 335.

[9] David Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, Vol. II, Appendix S, p. xxx.

her stand in a barrel of cold water at the church door; and when the rigour of judicial discipline was a little softened, the delinquent clad in a wet canvas shirt was made to stand before the congregation; and at the close of service, the minister explained to him the nature of his offence, and exhorted him to repentance."[10] Likewise the emphasis upon good morals constituted a central place in the sermons at that time. Pennant's chronicles included the observation that the application of instruction in the doctrines of natural and revealed religion was intended to promote pious living and social virtue. "Of old," he contrasted, "it was customary to preach upon controverted and mysterious points of divinity, but it is now hoped that the generality of the Clergy confine the subject of their preaching to what has a tendency to promote virtue and good morals, and to make the people peaceable and useful members of society."[11]

The gradual decline of Highland superstitions; the accomplished ascendency of Presbyterianism from a mixture of Christian faiths; the distinguished clergy and the cultured gentry, both well educated and quite compatible with each other; the attempt to proclaim and to attain higher morals -- these factors compounded one view of the religious state on the Island of Skye at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the picture was confounded by another perception of the circumstances. This second record described Skye as a religiously barren, morally depraved island at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From the viewpoint of evangelicals, there were only two persons within the entire population of the island in 1805 who could be acclaimed as enlightened Christians. One was a young lady who had

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[10]Pennant, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 432.

[11]Ibid., p. 373.

been converted during a visit to Lochcarron and the other Christian was a teacher who had accepted the faith at Ross where he had been raised.[12] Aside from those two individuals, the entire presbytery was in a state of spiritual darkness. Leading the way into this deplorable situation were the parish ministers. They were stigmatized as "the blind leading the blind." As an example of the character of the clergy, MacRae cited that Roderick MacLeod "declared that the first presbyterial act he performed after his ordination was to assist his co-presbyters to find their beds. They were so helplessly intoxicated."[13] The customs and morals of the people were also assailed. Various scandals occurred in connection with religious observances. As people gathered for public worship, it was not uncommon for sales and fairs to be advertised at the church door. It was charged that certain business transactions which had not been completed during the week were likely to be concluded on the Sabbath. At the communion occasions, which were held approximately once every three years, booths were erected in the churchyard during the week of preparatory services. During those week-day services, peddlars, publicans, and merchants carried on a flourishing trade. Most reviling of all were the scenes on the Communion Sabbath when the market "was confined to an immense sale of ardent spirits."[14] Mrs. Duncan further charged that "even elders were to be seen carrying about the sacred

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[12]Mrs. M.G.L. Duncan, History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, p. 342.

[13]Alexander MacRae, Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the 19th Century, p. 68. NOTE: However valid M'Leod's testimony was, it can hardly be accepted as contributing to the context of the religious condition of Skye just prior to the revival which began in 1812. For Roderick M'Leod was not ordained until 1819.

[14]Mrs. Duncan, op. cit., p. 341.

elements with inflamed countenances, and sometimes with unsteady steps."[15] Another example given of the heathenism which prevailed in Skye were the drunken orgies which characterised funeral observances. At the burying-ground, and even occasionally in the church, a feast of meat and drink would be indulged in to the accompaniment of bagpipes playing, songs sung, filthy tales and jests retold, and drunken fights breaking out between neighbouring clansmen. An illustration of superstition and religious ignorance was often seen when the survivors would mark a cross upon the coffin before the grave was closed. "Whatever had been his life of profanity or lewdness, after death it was the custom to say of him, 'He is well;' and the more decency and decorum were outraged at his funeral, the more was he honoured."[16] Such were the observations and the indictments as preserved by certain evangelicals to describe the religious condition in Skye at the start of the nineteenth century.

Therefore, it is not easy to precisely discern a clear view of the state of Christianity at Skye at that time. While the evidence indicates that the evangelical view was exaggerated, it cannot be completely discounted. For in spite of the attainments in religion, education, and culture during the last half of the eighteenth century, these primarily affected the higher classes in the island. Furthermore, certain sociological changes which were occurring at the close of the eighteenth century made a definite impact upon the environment. One unique factor which exerted a melancholy effect over the entire island was the emigration of many people to North America. Nearly all the reports from the parishes of Skye to the Statistical Account of 1792

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

called attention to the fact that sizeable groups of people had emigrated and that many young men were leaving the island to join the army. The cruel reality of this exodus produced a poignant effect upon the mood of life. Nicolson vividly perceived that "the sight of the emigrant ship, with its sorrowing human freight, sailing away to unknown shores, made an impression on those who remained that time could not erase, with the result that there was induced a gravity of outlook on life that the people had never before experienced."[17] The antithesis to the fact of emigration was the simultaneous increase in the population. While the lowlands increased by five per cent during the last half of the eighteenth century, Skye expanded its population by almost 30 per cent. The primary reason for this was the use of innoculations against smallpox which began to be given during the last quarter of the century. Also, the runrig system of tenure had come to an end, and the land was being divided into crofts. Although these small plots of ground were hardly adequate to support a family, the occupants often sub-divided their holdings in an attempt to make room for their relatives. These factors, plus the fact that the comparatively new kelp-making industry still provide a subsistence for those who had been dispossessed from the land divisions, contributed to the increased population. However, as the population increased, so did the state of poverty at the beginning of the 19th century.

A somewhat unexpected change took place within the Highland gentry at the beginning of the new century. A kind of apathy developed regarding the education of their youth. Col. Stewart noted that "the last generation did not give their children the same education which they themselves had received." Along with other contemporaries, he

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[17]Nicolson, op. cit., p. 366.

claimed "that the youth of the second order of Highland gentry are more degenerated and more changed in every respect than the Highland peasantry."[18] Although schools had been established in some parishes during the eighteenth century, their attempts to teach Gaelic-speaking pupils to read English did not prove to be widely successful. Even with the founding of schools in 1811 by the Gaelic School Society, the people were very slow to take advantage of the opportunities to educate their children.[19]

Hence, the island of Skye emerged from the Age of Enlightenment to a period of depression and transition. Sociologically and economically the islanders faced the problem of making limited resources support an increasing population. Morally the habits of the common people centered in certain popular recreations of their native culture and in the large consumption of whisky. These pass-times showed a degeneracy of morals among the people. Ecclesiastically the eight parishes of Skye were confronted with the almost impossible tasks of ministering to an increasing and scattered population. Many parishioners lived several miles from the nearest place of worship. There were no roads, only tracts. Weather conditions were a problem to transportation during much of the year. There were churches in need of repair, and there were several places of worship where there was no church building. There were only two manses in

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[18]Stewart, op. cit., Vol. II, Appendix S, p. xxxi. (See also, "Letters on the State of Education in the Highlands and Islands" to the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, extracts of which are contained in Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, compiled from returns received by the Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands, pp. vii, viii, xiii, xiv, xxi.)

[19]Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, p. 47. In 1824, less than one-third of the population above eight years of age could read. (See also, Nicolson, op. cit., pp. 413-415.)

the whole island -- at Kilmuir, built in 1778, and at Eigg, built in 1790. Most of the clergy had been the ministers of their respective parishes during Presbyterian ascendency. They had effectively begun to extract Highland superstition from religion. They had sought to enforce higher morals. They had been distinguished along with several predecessors for their culture and learning. Yet, from the evangelical point of view, the misty isle was shrouded by spiritual darkness.

Into this situation came an Independent evangelist, John Farquharson. An agent of the S.P.G.H., Farquharson visited Skye in 1805. Beginning at Portree, he also itinerated to the north and west through the parishes of Kilmuir, Bracadale, and Snizort. Many people travelled considerable distances to hear the enthusiastic evangelist. The emphasis of Farquharson's evangelical discourses was new to the people. He sternly pointed out the sinful habits of the people and accentuated the inability of a sinner to save himself. A catechist at Portree was quoted as remarking that Farquharson's preaching gave him "'new views of Scripture . . . , and of the practices of the inhabitants of the island.'"[20] Following his portrayal of man's fallen condition, the evangelist stressed that the righteousness of Jesus Christ was the only hope of salvation. The islanders were not accustomed to that style and content of preaching. Furthermore, there was a certain amount of intrigue about an itinerate preacher who had no relationship with the parish ministers and who so zealously preached on week-days as well as Sabbaths. The novelty of the man and his

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[20]Duncan, op. cit., p. 342. (Also, MacCowan has preserved a story about a certain old man at Uig who was so disturbed by Farquharson's description of man's sinful condition that he chided his neighbours on their way home: "'Don't believe a word of what he said, for if it be true, Satan is at the back of the house of every one of you.'" -- Roderick MacCowan, The Men of Skye, p. 3.)

methods attracted large crowds. And some credited his open-air services as the means by which they were converted. Among those was the previously mentioned catechist at Portree who was also a blind fiddler. His name was Donald Munro (1773-1830). "'To me,'" he testified of Farquharson, "'he was a messenger from God.'"[21]

At the age of fourteen, Munro was left completely blind following an attack of smallpox. He had never been educated. But he was endowed with a retentive memory.[22] Thus, to become a qualified catechist, he was read to by others until he had memorized the Shorter Catechism, several chapters of Scripture, and the Psalms. In the parish of Portree, Munro became a popular fiddler at weddings and dances and a dutiful catechist. Upon being impressed by the preaching of Farquharson, Munro followed the evangelist to Snizort. Apparently he did not return to Portree, but remained in Snizort where he was instrumental in establishing a prayer-meeting which was reputed to be an innovation to the island.[23] Inspite of some opposition, the prayer-meeting continued for nearly two years. During that time the work of Munro received the attention and support of the parish minister at Kilmuir. Donald Martin, who succeeded Donald MacQueen in 1785, was converted to the

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[21]MacRae, op. cit., p. 70.

[22]There were several stories told to illustrate the extent to which Munro developed that gift. For example, MacCowan recorded that once when a literate stranger was visiting Munro's father, "Donald told them to give him the Psalm book, and asked him to read a certain Psalm. When he finished, Donald said -- 'I had all the Psalms within the cover of the Bible before except that one, and now I have it.' Such was his quick and tenacious memory." -- MacCowan, op. cit., p. 7.

[23]Mrs. Duncan is the only source which does not specifically credit Munro with founding the monthly prayer-meeting. She stated that at the time of Farquharson's itinerancy, "a man who came from Sutherland stirred up seven others in the parish of Snizort to hold a monthly prayer-meeting." -- Duncan, op. cit., p. 342. Mrs. Duncan's account is also unique in that no mention is ever made of Donald Munro either by name or by initials.

evangelical view of Christian doctrine at the end of 1805 or early in 1806. The change which this brought about in his life and preaching has not been preserved in detail. The records simply testify that his ministry attracted notice. He fostered a desire among some parishioners to study the New Testament and secured copies of it from the British and Foreign Bible Society. He brought an evangelical schoolmaster to the parish from Rosshire. And, through the S.P.C.K., Martin obtained the appointment of Munro to labour in Kilmuir as catechist. However, the work which was started by Martin subsided when he was translated in 1808 to East Church, Inverness, which was a Gaelic Chapel of Ease organized in 1798. During the vacancy, Munro conducted prayer meetings which were attended by large numbers. However, the new minister at Kilmuir, Donald Ross, objected to these meetings which the blind catechist continued to lead. Ross filed his opposition with the S.P.C.K. on the grounds that Munro had violated the rules of the society which prohibited their agents from preaching. As a result, the S.P.C.K. dismissed Munro from his office as catechist at Kilmuir.

Unfortunately, the extant records do not include a detailed description of Munro's method of conducting a prayer meeting nor are there any accounts containing the content of his lectures. Couper claimed that the blind catechist "was careful never to encroach on the stated functions of the ministry, and never attempted to conduct formal services."[24] The fine line which was set forth to defend Munro was the dividing line between lecturing and preaching. Couper advocated that the exhortations were not based upon a specific text. Therefore, Munro was simply lecturing rather than preaching. In light of the

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[24]W. J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 97.

decision of the S.P.C.K. and by the failure of Couper to document any evidence for his case, there is reason to believe that the meetings of Donald Munro bore a close resemblance with public worship, and that the catechist's exhortations could have been identified with lay-preaching.

Debarred from office and deprived from his salary, Donald Munro was not detained from his task. He continued to gather people together for prayer and exhortation. He now used his musical ability exclusively in leading Psalm-singing. Another feature of his meetings was that he had selections read to the people from the Gaelic translations of the works of Boston, Baxter, Bunyan, Edwards, and Willison. The people continued to attend Munro's meetings and to receive him as he travelled from house to house and farm to farm teaching the Shorter Catechism. Dr. Mackintosh MacKay testified that "Donald Munro became soon a public character in most parts of Skye. He began to make more and more extensive itineracies throughout the Island, and became an acknowledged evangelist among the bulk of the population.'"[25] As he had earlier received ministerial support from Donald Martin, so now he was encouraged by the approval from a new minister to the island. The Rev. John Shaw, a native on Moulin during the second decade of the nineteenth century who was credited with supporting and complimenting the labours of the blind catechist.

The Revival at Skye was manifested in 1812. Again there has been regretfully only a very minimum of information preserved. The movement began in the northern part of Kilmuir where Munro had ministered most extensively. For the most part the revival took place during the services for prayer and exhortation. One of the characteristics

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[25]Quotation in MacCowan, op. cit., p. 18.

of the revival was that the plain reading of the Scriptures was an effective means for evoking a response from the people. Later in the century, the Rev. John S. Macphail commented that "'it was a common thing after the opening services when the Bible was read, that great meltings came upon the hearers; the deepest attention was given to every word as verse after verse was solemnly repeated, tears flowed down, half suppressed sighs came next, then sobbings that could not be restrained, and sometimes those affected cried aloud or threw themselves upon the grass weeping bitterly.'"[26] In addition to the outbursts of emotions, there was lay participation at these meetings. Often as many as eight or more men led the period of prayer. These devotions were purposely "short, earnest, and void of repetitions . . . These sincere men were careful about every part of the service and worship of God."[27] The observation of history has been subdued over the fact that the Revival at Skye was almost entirely centered in the laity. During the two and a half years which the movement lasted, there was little ministerial continuity among the parishes. From 1811 to 1814, five parish ministers on Skye died. Thus, the revival proceeded inspite of pulpit vacancies and the settling of new ministers.

Another characteristic of the revival was the manner in which it spread. From Kilmuir, the awakening extended to other parts of the Island, especially to the parishes of Snizort, Bracadale, and Duirinish. There was no discernable pattern to the extension. Conversions seemed to occur spontaneously in new districts without specific connection to preceeding awakenings in near-by areas. The progress was mystically described as breaking out "like summer showers,

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[26]Couper, op. cit., p. 97. (Also, Duncan, op. cit., p. 343.)

[27]MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

which move about, when the rain falls on one field without a drop on another. They were here today, and in another place tomorrow."[28] No obvious connection could be detected between the times and places where the revival erupted. The movement was more active during the winter months. And the emotional responses of crying aloud and of bodily agitations were common to the movement wherever it occurred.

On the positive side, the Revival of 1812-1814 made a deep impression upon a large number of the island population. The generally accepted testimony avowed that "'several hundreds professed to have returned to the Lord, and the genuineness of their conversion was evidenced by the change of life that accompanied their profession.'"[29] Among those converts, there was an impressive group of young men who became teachers and catechists in the Highlands. The list included: Angus Munro, Gaelic teacher at Snizort, Portree, and Bracadale; Alexander MacLeod, catechist at Duirinish, Portree, Raasay, and Snizort; Donald MacQueen, catechist at Bracadale; Donald MacDonald, catechist at Kilmuir and Duirinish; John MacSween, teacher at Islay; Malcolm Nicolson, Gaelic teacher at Lewis; and Neil Stewart, catechist at Strathaird and North Uist. Some of those who laboured on Skye became known as the "fathers" of that group of lay-leaders during the second quarter of the century which was called "The Men of Skye." These leaders plus many of the converts from the revival continued to hold fellowship meetings through the period of the Disruption. Wherever they resided, they ignored the worship conducted by ministers reputed to be moderate. Some travelled long distances to attend worship at Bracadale after John Shaw settled there in 1813. Others

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[28]Duncan, op. cit., p. 343.

[29]MacRae, op. cit., p. 72.

resorted to participating in field meetings. In 1817, a meeting-house was built on a farm in Snizort where Munro principally ministered until his death in 1830. Regardless of the aversion to Moderate ministers and their withdrawal from certain parish kirks, those who were the "first fruits" of the revival professed their continued attachment to the Established Church up to the Disruption.

There were also several features about the revival which had a counter-acting effect upon the movement. In the first place, there were many persons who initially gave the impression of being awakened but who soon returned to their old ways of living. Their witness was to discredit the validity of the movement. Secondly, there were a few converts, especially among the women, who became fanatically religious. They gave the impression of having "'dreams and visions, and to have received a spirit of penetration, which enabled them to foretell who should be saved, and who not.'"[30] Not only was this disturbing to those who were leading the revival, but it was repulsive to those who were unconverted. Whether it was caused by the effect of emotionalism upon the Celtic temperament or whether it was a genuine delusion, this element of fanaticism remained a problem to the furtherance of the movement. Lastly, there was active opposition to the revival from without. Donald Ross, the minister of Kilmuir who had first opposed Donald Munro, received the support of the parish gentry in complaining about the fellowship meetings. They presented their case to the proprietor, Lord Macdonald, charging that the meetings were an infringement upon the ministry of the Church and that they tended to ignore and weaken public authority. It was even suggested that those who supported the fellowship meetings be evicted

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[30]Duncan, op. cit., p. 344.

from their holdings. However, this was not carried out. The opposition did not have its effect, especially upon those who attended the field meetings and who no longer took an active part in the parish kirk. They sometimes found it difficult to obtain the ordinances of Christianity. In some cases, the sacraments were withheld from them. In other cases, those who had separated themselves from the ordinary ministrations of a minister did not feel at liberty to apply to him to receive the ordinances. Also, as was characteristic of certain evangelicals, some had determined that they could not "with a good conscience mingle themselves at the table of the Lord with the openly unchristian and profane."[31]

After the revival subsided in 1814, the religous state of Skye seemed resolved to a period of comparatively mutual toleration between the moderate Christians and the evangelicals. The latter continued to hold Sabbath and week-day fellowship meetings which were conducted by laymen and which were similar to services of public worship. The Rev. John Shaw provided the solitary ministerial support and encouragement for the evangelicals. Some evangelicals travelled long distances and across parish boundaries to attend the services and communion seasons at Bracadale. During this period, one particular individual who visited Shaw was Roderick MacLeod (1794-1868). Raised in Snizort where his father was parish minister from 1788 to 1832, MacLeod was a proficient student and a skilled marksman who was often in the company of his patron and kinsman Chief MacLeod of MacLeod. Roderick MacLeod was licensed by the Presbytery of Skye in 1819, and was appointed by the General Assembly Committee on the Royal Bounty to the Mission of Lyndale in his father's parish. Upon visiting in Shaw's

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[31] Ibid., p. 346.

home one day, he noticed a copy of Bellamy's Christian Religion Delineated which he borrowed and read. The condition of sinful man's guilt before God as presented in that volume made a deep impression upon him. Shortly thereafter he received a copy of Thomas Chalmers' Lectures on Romans which he found enlightening and comforting. These written works were the initial sources which led MacLeod to adopt evangelicalism. Prior to that decision, MacLeod had enjoyed a care-free place among the gentry of Skye. He had no use for the person or the work of Donald Munro. But all that changed. And Munro and MacLeod became frequent visitors in one another's homes. The change which took place in MacLeod's life was further seen in his labours at the mission. "The preaching was new. The services were multiplied. Meetings were held on week days as well as Sabbaths. Soon these meetings became crowded, for the people flocked to them from the surrounding districts, and many who afterwards became eminent Christians dated their first deep impressions from the earnest services of that time."[32] The change in MacLeod's life and ministry was so marked that some of his former associates "'were offended, and regarded him as an unhappy fanatic.'"[33] This, however, was not true of MacLeod of MacLeod. Faithful to his promise, the patron presented Roderick MacLeod to the first vacancy which occurred. That took place upon the death of Shaw in 1823. In that same year, MacLeod was presented and induced to be the parish minister of Bracadale. His ministry there continued to extend the spirit of revival that had been maintained by Shaw and Munro. To evangelicals, Bracadale became famous as "the birthplace of souls." "His church," wrote J.S. Macphail,

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[32] Disruption Worthies of the Highlands, p. 26.

[33] MacRae, op. cit., p. 74.

"was crowded from Sabbath to Sabbath with eager hearers. Not only his own parishioners, but many from the surrounding parishes resorted to his ministry."[34] In addition to his close friendship with Donald Munro, MacLeod was a good friend and a frequent host to "the men" of Skye. Affectionately called "Mr. Roderick" or "Mr. Rory," the minister of Bracadale was an advocate and friend to the labours of those evangelical catechists and teachers.

As an evangelical, MacLeod adopted very strict regulations pertaining to the administration of the sacraments. Convinced that only true believers in the Gospel were qualified to partake of the sacred ordinances, MacLeod conscienciously sought to correct what he regarded as a dangerous laxity in administering baptism and in granting Communion tokens. When he translated to Bracadale, the parish had 250 communicants. Prior to his first communion season there, MacLeod intimated that only those who appeared to be consistent Christians would receive tokens. "The number who communicated was under ten."[35] Such stringency was challenged in the courts of the Church over a case in which MacLeod refused to administer baptism to the child of Alexander Campbell, one of his parishioners. When MacLeod refused a directive from the Presbytery of Skye to carry out the baptism, the case was taken to the General Assembly. The Assembly upheld the decision of the Presbytery. Nevertheless, the minister of Bracadale would not comply. Hence, in 1826, the Presbytery suspended MacLeod. Although the matter was appealed to the G.A., the Assembly confirmed the suspension by a majority of 36 votes. Next, the Presbytery instigated libel charges against MacLeod with the intention of deposing

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[34] Disruption Worthies of the Highlands, op. cit., p. 27.

[35] MacCowan, op. cit., p. 93.

him. Through his advocate, Mr. (later Lord) Cockburn, MacLeod appealed to the Assembly. A committee which investigated the case reported to the General Assembly of 1827 with the result that the evangelical minister was vindicated by the removal of the suspension and the withdrawal of the libel.[36] Writing in 1929, David Beaton claimed that "Macleod's stand against laxity in the administration of baptism is felt to this day in Skye. There are numbers in the Island who were not baptized in their infancy, and the reason is not because of any disrespect they have to the ordinance, but because of the position Mr. Roderick took up in regard to its administration."[37] Roderick MacLeod served the parish of Bracadale for 15 years. In 1838, he was translated to his native parish of Snizort. Along with the incumbent at Bracadale, John Glass, MacLeod continued to exercise an influential evangelical ministry. At the Disruption, MacLeod and Glass were the only two ministers in the Presbytery of Skye to join the Free Church.[38]

One final event must be noted in this account of the spirit of revival which was manifested in Skye in the nineteenth century prior to the Disruption. This occurred in 1840 at Unish, a village near the parliamentary church, Hallin-in-Waternish, organized in 1828. For three years, Norman MacLeod had been a teacher at that remote corner of the Island. MacLeod was a retired soldier who had served under

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[36]The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1825, 1826, 1827. Disruption Worthies of the Highlands, op. cit., pp. 27-28. A partial account of the case was printed in 1826, entitled, "Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 23rd May, 1826, in the Case of the Suspension of the Rev. R. Macleod."

[37]David Beaton, Some Noted Ministers of the Northern Highlands, p. 190.

[38]Roderick MacLeod was elected to be Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1863.

General Abercromby in Egypt where he had been seriously wounded. Upon his discharge, he married and settled in Edinburgh. However, after being converted by means of the preaching of Dr. MacDonald, "the Apostle of the North," Norman MacLeod became a school teacher and one of "the men" in his native Island. In 1840, having fulfilled his term at Unish, MacLeod prepared to leave for his next assignment from the Gaelic School Society. On the final Sabbath before he was scheduled to leave, he conducted the evening meeting as usual. His exhortation was based upon the parable of the barren fig tree.[39] At the conclusion of his discourse, MacLeod referred to his three years of labour among them and asked the people what fruit had been forthcoming. He reportedly emphasised "their accountability to God at the great day of judgment, applying the parable with such power and demonstration that the people burst out weeping."[40] Many people remained at the meeting place the remainder of the night. Thus, instead of leaving the following day, MacLeod remained in Unish for a fortnight. "'Day and night the services were continued, with little intermission'" with MacLeod "'reading, praying, and exhorting.'"[41] The parish minister, Roderick Reid, was a Moderate and remained aloof from the movement. As news of the awakening spread throughout the parish, a special service was scheduled without the aid of the minister or the use of the church building. The service was held at Stein and was attended by many people. "'Fully fifty boats had come with people

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[39]MacRae recorded that the basis for the exhortation was the 11th Chapter of Mark containing Jesus encounter with a barren fig tree. MacRae, op. cit., p. 76. MacCowan states that the Scriptural passage used was Luke xiii. 6-7. MacCowan, op. cit., p. 76.

[40]MacCowan, op. cit., p. 76.

[41]MacRae, op. cit., p. 76.

from the various parts of the coast around.'"[42] The response was so great that a weekly service was fixed to be held at Fairybridge, a more central location where three roads met. For several months MacLeod returned each week from Minginish to preach at the services to which "'crowds resorted thither from all parts of Skye.'"[43] That is the extent of the record of that movement. There were no descriptions or accounts of the order of the services nor of the content of MacLeod's discourses. Neither has there been preserved any details of the affect which this movement had upon the people who were said to have had their consciences awakened.

Primary resources for this study of evangelistic services at Skye are admittedly lacking. Unwritten discourses by the blind evangelist, Donald Munro, plus the fact that parish records of any kind were extremely rare has left a void in the annals which can never be filled. Secondary sources have been written from a particular bias and are sometimes inaccurate. Taking this into consideration, there are several insights that can be drawn from the available material.

First, the revival movements in Skye were essentially manifested through the leadership of laymen.. The central figure in the revival of 1812-14 was the blind catechist, Donald Munro. Following his removal from office at Kilmuir, he became an itinerant, lay-evangelist whose services were the core of fairly wide-spread, spontaneous awakenings. The occasional signs of revival which occurred on the Island after 1814 were chiefly credited to the labours of the catechists and school teachers who became known as "the men." And finally, the

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[42] Ibid., p. 77.

[43] Ibid.

brief awakening around Waternish in 1840 was also centered in the preaching of a layman, Norman MacLeod. The direct relationship of the movement to the Church was of secondary relevance. Although certain sources attempted to magnify the influences of John Shaw and Roderick MacLeod,[44] it must be noted that these ministers fulfilled only a supporting role to the movement and that their value was strategic in that they offered the solitary link between the revival and the Established Church.

Secondly, the meetings conducted by the lay-evangelists were basically services of public worship. Though some fellowship meetings were held in the church at Bracadale during the pastorates of Shaw and "Mr. Roderick," these services were characteristically located at farms, in the open-air, and within meeting-houses specifically constructed for those gatherings. Some of these meetings took the form of what was called in the Highlands, "speaking to the question." Such assemblies required the participation of several laymen who spoke

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[44]W.J. Couper stated that John Shaw settled in Duirinish in 1805 and thereafter provided the evangelical witness along with Donald Martin, following the latter's conversion. (See Couper, op. cit., p. 95.) MacRae's account also credits Shaw as a leader in the preparation for the revival. He states vaguely that Shaw went to Bracadale about the same time when Martin left Skye and Munro was removed from office as catechist at Kilmuir. (See MacRae, op. cit., pp. 71-72.) MacCowan was closer to the facts when he noted that Shaw's influence was not exerted until 1814 when he went to Bracadale from Duirinish where he had served as an assistant to J.M. Souter. (See MacCowan, op. cit., pp. 15-16.) Actually, Shaw was an assistant minister to William Bethune at Duirinish from 1811-13. He was translated to Bracadale in 1813 where he provided an influencial ministry in support of the revival which was already in progress. (See Fasti, op. cit., pp. 169, 167.) Re: The Rev. Roderick MacLeod, -- it is true that he was an effective, solitary, evangelical minister of Skye from 1823 until the evangelical, the Rev. John R. Glass, settled in Bracadale in 1838. Also, it must be granted that the evidence confirms that he was powerful and popular minister. However, writers such as D. Beaton and J.S. MacPhail who were sympathetic to the Free Church and paid tribute to MacLeod's ministry in that denomination tended to magnify his earlier ministry and his contribution to the revival movement.

about a particular topic or Scripture passage which had been proposed at the outset of the meeting. The order followed in these services was usually: prayer, singing of a Psalm, proposing the question, reading of a passage of Scripture, speaking to the question, prayer, and singing of Psalms.[45] Other meetings led by "the men" followed a similar order except that the leader presented an exhortation in place of the presentation of and speaking to the question. The impression which the sources attempted to convey was that the exhortations were more similar to lecturing or to the explanations presented during catechising sessions. However, there are places in which the term "preaching" is used to describe the discourses of the laymen. The admonition against lay-preaching which had been occasioned by the work of the Haldanes and the S.P.G.H. was still a dominant conviction within the Established Church. Thus, the services led by laymen at Skye did not proceed unopposed. The meetings contained the basic features of public worship, including lay-preaching. And most of the ministers who were labelled as Moderate gave no sanction to the services. Indeed, in at least two parishes in Skye, catechists and Gaelic Society teachers were not permitted to labour.[46]

A third observation about the revival movement at Skye is that it had a two-fold effect upon those who were awakened. The immediate consequence was that people's emotions were aroused. The standard evangelical message which vividly described man's fallen nature was both fearsome and awesome. Man's inability to save himself and, at the same time, his accountability before the Almighty Judge were

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[45]Duncan, op. cit., pp. 348-352. Mrs. Duncan's source for the description of these meetings was "An Account of the Present State of Religion in the Highlands of Scotland," pp. 21-27.

[46]Ibid., p. 347.

themes which evinced bodily agitations and weeping among the people. These spontaneous outbursts were interpreted as evidences of awakened consciences. First and foremost, the evangelical message created a new, somewhat desperate awareness of the eternal seriousness of sin. And this led to the second affect of the revival. The aftermath of the emotional response to man's sinful condition was to identify every manifestation of sin and condemn it. Hence, the movement of revival initiated an assault upon vice and sinful habits. The evangelicals became more moralistic than the Moderates. Various forms of entertainment were a particular object of attack. When Donald Munro was converted, he was said to have "flung his fiddle aside, and no more is heard of it."[47] So vehement was he against the use of musical instruments for "worldly pleasures" that on one occasion he reportedly asked his listeners to show their renunciation of such evil by bringing their musical equipment to the head of Loch Snizort. There, "on a day appointed, for a public conflagration, the response was so general that a veritable 'mountain' of fiddles and bagpipes was there accumulated, and consigned to the flames."[48] Such ardent activities persistently employed caused a decided change in the general conduct of the people. The manner in which life had been altered was clearly reflected in various accounts from the parishes which were written in 1841. The Rev. Archibald Clerk, minister of Duirinish, especially noted that the old revelries at weddings and funerals had been abandoned. "These savage scenes," he proudly declared, "are known now, only as the things of bygone days. Indeed, what may be termed a violent reaction has taken place in the feelings and customs

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[47]MacCowan, op. cit., p. 2.

[48]Nicolson, op. cit., p. 367.

of the people in regard to the funeral obsequies of their friends, which are at the present day conducted more quietly and privately than perhaps in any other portion of Scotland."[49] At Kilmuir, the parish minister's son, Alexander Macgregor, observed that the "barbarous customs" which were carried to excess at funerals were "not yet entirely extinct," but were "greatly on the decline."[50] The reaction to the large amount of whisky consumed in Skye stimulated a call for temperance. Roderick MacLeod was one of the strongest advocates of abstaining from strong drink. He referred to the establishment of a whisky distillery at Bracadale as "one of the greatest curses which, in the ordinary course of Providence, could befall it or any other place."[51] At Strath, the Rev. John MacKinnon advocated that the temperance and total abstinence societies should extend their labours to combat the consumption of tea and tobacco. He contended that "much more money [was] uselessly lavished on these articles than on intoxicating liquors of any description."[52] With the exception of Snizort where morals had begun to degenerate, the parishes of Skye showed a very low crime rate. The Rev. Coll MacDonald reported from Portree that the people were "under the influence of moral principle, so much so, indeed, that heinous crimes are seldom or ever seen or heard of among them"[53] MacKinnon noted that there were only two occasions on record of criminal prosecutions against citizens of the Parish of

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[49]The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV, p. 359.

[50]Ibid., p. 286.

[51]Ibid., p. 299.

[52]Ibid., p. 313.

[53]Ibid., p. 225.

Strath.[54] Also, the Rev. Alexander MacIvor claimed that during his fourteen years at Sleat, there had been only one criminal offence committed. And then, the person accused of the theft "was evidently imbecile."[55] Therefore, the testimony is that a noteable change toward higher moral conduct did occur during the revival movement in Skye. There was an additional result from the evangelical attack upon vice and worldly pleasures. Many of the social pastimes which were a vital part of the native culture of the Island came under the assault. As secular recreations those practices were rendered suspect. Formerly, it had been the custom in Skye for neighbours to gather together during the long winter evenings to recite the oral tales and traditions of their heritage. There would also be the singing of folk songs and the playing of the pipes or some other musical instrument. But with the revival movement, these customs were renounced and widely abandoned. Clerk was particularly sensitive to that development and noted it with deep regret in his account of the Parish of Duirinish. He observed that it was

> ". . . rare to hear a song sung, and still rarer to hear the sound of pipe or violin. Each family confines itself to its own dwelling, or, if a visit is paid, the time is spent in retailing the silly gossip of the day . . . The traditions of a country -- the only source of information concerning bygone days in the absence of written records -- are always interesting and instructive; and it is to be lamented that the traditions of the Highlands have been to a great degree irrecoverably lost. Still more is it to be deplored that the 'Sgeulachdan' or tales, which were at one period so universally prized, are now so completely forgotten . . . In these and in the proverbs of the country, were the collective wisdom and intelligence of the Highlands to be seen. But both tales and proverbs are now nearly lost; and while

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[54] Ibid., p. 309.

[55] Ibid., p. 318.

most interesting fragments might yet be recovered and preserved, the time for making a complete collection is for ever past."[56]

A fourth noteworthy feature of the revival at Skye was the prominent place of Scripture reading in the meetings and services. As has been noted in this study, the tradition inherited and universally followed during the first half of the nineteenth century was the system of lecturing at public worship. Reading a passage from the Bible without accompanying comments being given was not common in Scotland, except during the reader's service prior to the minister's entrance into the pulpit. There is no evidence that public worship was conducted any differently in the churches at Skye from those in other parts of the Establishment. However, at the meetings led by Donald Munro and "the men" the reading of a passage of Scripture without comment was a separate item in the order utilized. At the meetings for prayer and exhortation, a passage of Scripture was read upon which the catechist or teacher would base his discourse which was delivered later in the service. At meetings for the purpose of "speaking to the question," a portion would be read from the Bible as the introduction to and basis for the question and the comments to be given. This feature of the revival services was not common to other services of public worship at that time. But even more remarkable was that fact that the plain reading of Scripture was the origin of the emotional responses and awakenings which occurred. Traditionally, the preaching of the Word was the center of public worship in Scotland. The attention and anticipation of the worshippers was focused upon the sermon. Hence, the seasons of revival in the Church of Scotland had almost exclusively been concentrated in the preaching of the Word and the

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[56] Ibid., pp. 358-359.

administration of the Sacrament. It was a significant event in the history of evangelism in Scotland when the people at Skye during the early nineteenth century often "felt much life and refreshment communicated to them by the reading of a chapter without note or comment."[57] This factor was just as remarkable to those who personally testified to it. Its uniqueness was noted by one observer who commented that "'there was here then such power with the word of God as can scarcely be believed by Christians who did not witness it, or feel it experimentally.'"[58]

The final insight from this study concerns the relationship of the revival movement to the observance of the Lord's Supper in the churches at Skye. The meager amount of information on this aspect of religious life in the Island implies that the Sacrament was not celebrated with regularity even on an annual basis. It was not completely neglected, however, because mention was made of the fellowship meetings of "speaking to the question" which were held on the Friday of the sacramental season. Also, because the revival movement took place largely under the leadership of laymen and not during the ordinary services of the Church, the Sacrament was not a factor in the evangelistic work. However, the revival did have an affect upon the celebration of the Lord's Supper in many of the parishes of Skye. From the teachings of the catechists and teachers and from the rigid policy of Roderick MacLeod relative to the regulations of admission to the sacraments, the evangelical Christians at Skye became loathe to partake of the Lord's Supper unless it was exclusively in the company of true believers. The sacredness of the ordinance led the evangelicals to be unwilling

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[57] Duncan, op. cit., p. 343.

[58] Ibid., p. 344.

to receive the elements from the hands of Moderate ministers. Believing that those clergymen did not know the Gospel nor the needs of sinful people, these so-called "God-fearing people" chose to be absent from the Lord's Table rather than sit at that table presided over by Moderate ministers. MacCowan documented the fact that this practice "'was not confined to any one parish, but it extended to various parishes.'"[59] Archibald Clerk also noted this practice in 1841. He charged the evangelicals with believing that the efficacy of the Sacrament depended substantially upon the person who administered it. Likewise the potency of the means of grace would be lost by the presence at the table of one unconverted person. Therefore, imputed Clerk, since those persons were "very uncharitable" in their judgments of the religious state of people whose convictions differed in any way from their own, the evangelicals were extremely selective as to those with whom they would partake of the Sacrament. The minister of Duirinish went on to observe that "through the influence of these men (among whom there are some lay-preachers), aided by others who ought to have known better, the majority of the people have been brought to regard the sacraments, especially that of the Lord's Supper, with a degree of horror which causes almost all of them to avoid partaking of it. Thus there are nearly 200 children in the parish unbaptized, and the table of the Lord is unfrequented. It has, to a certain extent, become a proof of piety to avoid partaking of the sacraments."[60] Further evidence of this trend was specifically noted

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[59]MacCowan, op. cit., p. 25. (Quotation is from Reports on Sites.)

[60]New Statistical Account, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

in the accounts from the parishes of Portree and Bracadale.[61] Therefore, the revival movement fostered an elevated view of the Sacrament whereby it was a means of grace only for those who were already filled with grace and whereby it became a mark of humble faithfulness to deny oneself of the privilege rather than partake where it was being administered unworthily.

The Revival at Skye, 1812-14, and the subsequent spirit of revival which remained throughout the first half of the nineteenth century was significant to the evangelical movement which was manifested in the act of a type of public worship service. The revival movement had some effect upon the conduct of the people and the culture of the Island society. Yet, within the context of the continuing superstition, the increasing poverty, and the other problems confronting the church and society of Skye at that time, the famous evangelical, Roderick MacLeod, was right when he wrote in 1840 that regarding morality and religion, "it is yet but a day of small things."[62]

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[61] Ibid., pp. 232-233, 298. Portree: "The attendance at the different preaching stations in the parish is from 300 to 400 souls, but frequently less in bad weather, when the people have a great distance to travel. The number of communicants in the parish, of late years, has greatly diminished, from a kind of delusion among the people. They seem now, however, to come to a better understanding, and, from present appearances, there is reason to believe that the number of communicants will soon be considerably increased." Bracadale: The parish church "was built in 1831, and affords accommodation to between 500 and 600 sitters. The sittings are all free . . . Divine service is always well attended. The average number of communicants is about 20."

[62] Ibid., p. 297.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVIVAL IN THE PARISH OF KILSYTH, 1839, AND THE RELATED REVIVAL MOVEMENT, 1839 - 41

In a treatise written in 1840 entitled, "Mode of Conducting a Revival--Errors and Evils to be Avoided", the Reverend William Hamilton Burns declared that a revival does not come by speaking about revivals, nor by describing them, nor by defending them. The point he was emphasising was that prayer created the spirit for revival and that the preaching of Christ contained the substance for revival. "The people must be plied from day to day," he exhorted, "with plain, faithful, Scriptural preaching to them, and not merely before them."[1] There is no cause for questioning Burns' conviction about this main affirmation of his essay. There is, however, a trace of irony about his disparagement of speaking, describing, and defending revivals as having any causal effect in a spiritual awakening. For W.H. Burns was the minister at Kilsyth when that parish became the cynosure for the most widespread evangelistic movement of the first half of the nineteenth century in Scotland. And, during the years leading up to the Revival at Kilsyth, Burns expended much effort speaking about, describing, and defending the necessity and the validity of revivals of religion with the aspiration for an awakening to occur during his ministry.

William Hamilton Burns (1779-1859) had been greatly influenced by evangelical ministers and professors during the years of his formal

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[1]Islay Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, p. 231

education. He entered the University of Edinburgh at the formative age of 12 years. With the exception of one term at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, Burns resided for eight academic years in Edinburgh. During those years in the Scottish capital, he highly esteemed the preaching of Thomas Jones, David Black, Walter Buchanan, Thomas Randal Davidson, and Dr. John Erskine. He also showed a deep admiration for Andrew Hunter, Professor of Divinity and Minister of the Tron Church, and Thomas Hardy, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Minister of West St. Giles Kirk. Being a divinity student in Edinburgh during those eventful years of evangelical ascendency and of evangelistic labours,[2] make it highly probably that Burns was instilled at that time with an interest in revivals in the Church. Such a concern was not obviously shown, however, until 1811 when he visited Moulin and made particular observations about the effects upon that parish of the Revival of 1796-1802. From that date [1811], it became apparent to those who knew him best that "the subject of revival became henceforth a ruling idea of his life."[3]

Having ministered since 1800 to the comparatively quiet rural Parish of Dun in the Presbytery of Brechin [where his elder brother, James (1774-1837), was a fellow Presbyter], W. H. Burns was translated to the Parish of Kilsyth in the Presbytery of Glasgow on 19th April, 1821. There he was simultaneously aware of "more evil and

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[2]W. H. Burns lived and studied in Edinburgh from 1791 to 1799. Those preachers and professors who deeply influenced him were men who actively supported the evangelical party and evangelistic endeavors. John Erskine's leadership of the evangelicals was made particularly memorable during those years by his speech during the debate on foreign missions in the General Assembly of 1796. Walter Buchanan and David Black were pastoral guides and friends of John Campbell and James A. Haldane. Black was also a friend and intimate correspondent with Alexander Stewart of Moulin.

[3]Burns, op. cit., p. 127.

more good in his new parish than in his former sphere."[4] Conscious of the significance of Kilsyth to the history of revivals in Scotland[5] and sensitive to the spiritual condition of the parish in 1821, Burns' interest in evangelism was manifested by an active longing for an awakening to occur during his incumbancy. One characteristic of the parishioners which was particularly disconcerting to the new minister was their notorious irregularity in attending public worship. The heritor sought to console him by explaining that it was a long established trait of the people. He claimed that "'the Apostle Paul himself could not bring the people of Kilsyth out in a full meeting three Sabbaths running.'"[6] Yet, after a time, Burns deduced a more plausible explanation. The habit of irregular attendance had begun years before when the church building had been in such ill-repair that public worship had been held in the open air during the summer months. By the time a new edifice had been constructed, apologies for failing to attend worship were easily made and unquestioningly accepted. Also, the practice of "vacant Sabbaths" had been prevalent during the pastorates of his two predecessors. During the summer months, there had frequently been no services of public worship in the kirk because the minister was assisting at a neighbouring communion occasion. Acting upon this analysis, Burns conscientiously made regular provision for the services in the sanctuary. He also stressed

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[4]Ibid., p. 95.

[5]Peter Anton, Kilsyth: a Parish History, p. 31. One of the two most famous 18th century revivals in Scotland was at Kilsyth in 1742. In the 17th century, the most memorable awakening took place at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630. The leading preacher of that movement was John Livingston, a native of Kilsyth. Hence, Anton claimed that "the historical revivals of Scotland are so inwoven with the history of Kilsyth and the men who have been born and bred there."

[6]Burns, op. cit., p. 98.

the importance of partaking of the Sacrament and soon established the practice of semi-annual dispensations of the Lord's Supper. In his other ministrations, he was equally devoted to provide the pastoral care which he felt the parish needed. He made a general visitation of every family. A Sabbath school was developed. Adult fellowship groups were formed. A prayer meeting, which had continued since the revival of 1742 and which now consisted of a few elders, was nurtured and eventually multiplied. A temperance society was established. A philosophical union was organized. A saving bank was instituted. "in all these schemes and undertakings," wrote his biographer-son, "the minister was either the prime mover or a zealous and efficient coadjutor."[7]

One motivation behind these efforts of William Burns was an increasing yearning for revival. At Kilsyth his long interest in this subject was rekindled. In 1822, along with Dr. George Wright of East Church, Stirling, he made a study of the records of the 1742-49 Revival at Kilsyth. He shared his interest and his findings with his congregation by preaching two sermons in December, 1822, on the subject of revival. On the one hand, he reviewed the historical record of the parish in relation to the topic. On the other, he presented the contemporary needs for a new awakening to occur. Although such an event did not immediately take place, the minister of Kilsyth continued to study about and to strive for revival. In 1830, an outbreak of drunken brawls in the parish induced the kirk session to set aside a special day of fasting and prayer to repress the disruption. The observance was so effective that it was later accredited as one of the "chief epochs" in the preparation for the events

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[7] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

of 1839. The next such preparatory event took place in 1832 when the neighbouring village of Kirkintilloch was afflicted with cholera. Although the epidemic did not spread into Kilsyth, it was a serious threat for several months. During that period, W. H. Burns viewed the situation as an opportunity to proclaim with urgency the evangelistic themes of repentance and regeneration. The imminent danger of cholera was also the occasion for an increase in the prayer meetings in the parish. Eight years later, the pastor of Kilsyth recalled that a weekly prayer meeting "was commenced in the year of the cholera, 1832, with us, as it had been in many places."[8] Although these gatherings for prayer, praise, and a "short exposition of a Psalm" were sparsely attended, they were credited as the means of converting some of the parishioners. Two other weekly meetings were simultaneously established in the rural districts of the parish, one of which was in the area of Banton.

The year 1832 was also a significant year in the life of a certain soliciter's apprentice in Edinburgh. William Chalmers Burns (1815-68), the son of the minister of Kilsyth, was employed in his uncle's law office with the intention of becoming a W. S. because he "'saw lawyers rich and with fine houses.'"[9] Several circumstances combined to lead this decent, morally upright lad[10] to make a profound decision about the direction of his life. He had been impressed by the preaching of John Bruce, minister of New North Parish, Edinburgh.

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[8] Ibid., p. 227.

[9] Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., pp. 22-23.

[10] Ibid., pp. 22-25. His brother emphasised that while W. C. Burns was considered the "least likely subject of grace in the family," that he was "free from all outward vice." Apparently the most serious sorrow he had caused his parents was when he would quietly absent himself from family worship.

He was confronted with the fear of an early death from the epidemic of cholera. He was disturbed by the dreadful prospect, which had been suggested to him in a letter from his sisters, that he might be the only member of their family who was not assuredly en route to heaven. With these solemn impressions upon his mind, he began to read a copy of Pike's Early Piety, which his father had given him. Suddenly, on a December afternoon in 1831, W. C. Burns was overwhelmed by a conviction of his lost status as a sinner before God. Ten years later he explained this abrupt change of life by recounting that "'God had apprehended me . . . . From the first moment of this wonderful experience I had the inspiring hope of being saved by a sovereign and infinitely gracious God; and in the same instant almost I felt that I must leave my present occupation, and devote myself to Jesus in the ministry of that glorious gospel by which I had been saved.'"[11] So stimulated was the young man that he walked the 36 miles from Edinburgh to Kilsyth where he unexpectedly entered the dining-room of the manse and astonished those present with the question: "'What would you think, mamma, if I should be a minister after all?'"[12] In 1832, William Chalmers Burns returned to Aberdeen to resume his college education which had been interrupted by his brief career in the law office at Edinburgh.

While W. H. Burns laboured and longed for a spiritual awakening in his parish, the spirit of evangelism was being cultivated in Kilsyth by an allied endeavor. It began on a Sabbath afternoon in June, 1827, when James Cameron stood on a table at the town Cross and began to preach from Revelation i.7. A crowd gathered to hear the

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[11] Ibid., p. 27.

[12] Ibid., p. 24.

young Methodist evangelist from Kirkintilloch. This was the beginning of Wesleyan Methodism in Kilsyth. The few converts of the new denomination met together in Arnott Hall, being ministered to by an occasional visiting preacher.[13] The Methodist congregation became firmly established in 1833 with a membership of fifteen. Two years later, on the last Sunday of February, a brief revival occurred at a session of the Methodist Sabbath School. W. J. Couper's summary account of this event noted that while the teacher was delivering a discourse to the young people, an outbreak of crying and pleadings for mercy began. The emotional clamor not only interrupted the remainder of the Sabbath School service but could not be restrained when the adults gathered for public worship. "This movement," concluded Couper, "is spoken of as the 'Revival of 1835,' and although on a small scale, did indeed open up the way for greater events."[14] Similarly, Robert Anderson emphasised the important place which Methodism occupied at Kilsyth by crediting the leading men of that local congregation as among "the pioneers of the revival of 1839."[15]

The evidence concurs that signs of a religious awakening were evident in all the religious bodies of Kilsyth--Established, Relief, Methodist, and Independent--from the mid-30's. In the Established Kirk, the celebration of the Lord's Supper was often the scene of conversions. In a footnote, Islay Burns recalled a sermon which was given on a Communion Sabbath evening by the Reverend A. N. Somerville

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[13]Robert Anderson, A History of Kilsyth and a Memorial of Two Lives: 1793-1901, pp. 134-135.

[14]W. J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 119.

[15]Anderson, op. cit., p. 135.

as being particularly memorable.[16] At a preparatory service to the administration of the Lord's Supper in March 1836, another guest minister, the Reverend James Walker of Muthill, preached a noteable sermon on the subject of revival. A prayer meeting, "especially for revival," was held in the church on that Friday night, "after which the prayer meetings in dwelling-houses were considerably increased in number and in attendance--all in connection with the church."[17] In that same year, the subject and the evidences of a potential revival were reported to other ministers in the area. At a meeting of a clerical society of Glasgow, W. H. Burns read an essay which sought to direct "more extensive attention to the subject [of revival], and of drawing forth the suggestions of the brethren in regard to some signs of awakening life that were even then appearing in his own parish."[18]

A new parish kirk had been constructed at Kilsyth in 1816. The old church building, which had been the central meeting-place for the Revival of 1742, had been demolished leaving a vacant site in the churchyard cemetery. During the summer of 1838, W. H. Burns decided to utilize that space for open-air services. The parish minister and the young preacher at Anderson, Alexander N. Somerville, conducted most of the open-air services that summer. One of these services was especially planned to advance the cause of revival. This service was a kind of remembrance observance for the Reverend James Robe, the parish minister during the Revival of 1742. Held on the 12th August,

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[16] I. Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, op. cit., p. 129.

[17] Couper, op. cit., p. 119.

[18] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 128. [As far as can be determined, this essay was not preserved.]

1838, the occasion marked the 84th anniversary of Robe's death. W. H. Burns conducted the service from a home-made pulpit [a family heirloom which had been built by W. H. Burns' father] which was placed at the graveside of Robe. The text for the sermon was Isaiah xxvi. 19, which was inscribed in Hebrew on Robe's tombstone: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Although W. H. Burns did not preach from notes or manuscript,[19] the sermon for this event was prepared in full and the manuscript from which he memorized the discourse was preserved by Islay Burns. The theme of the sermon was "the triumphant hope of the blessed who die in the Lord."[20] The discourse was divided into three parts--(1.) the context of the text; (2.) the doctrine contained in the text; and (3.) the instruction derived from the text.

Under the first heading, the preacher observed that Isaiah was primarily speaking of the restoration of Israel. However, he also proposed that the prophet's message was an expanded reference to the final resurrection, especially the resurrection of the saints. Therefore, under the second division, W. H. Burns emphasised the doctrine of the resurrection and the judgment stating that this teaching was a well-established, "fully understood" part of the creed of Israel. From that ancient belief, the pastor of Kilsyth summarized the New Testament development of the resurrection and judgment of the whole nature of man. "As the body is the instrument of the soul in good and

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[19] Ibid., p. 76. In 1808, W. H. Burns wrote: "Have given up the use of notes in the pulpit; and though not perhaps so accurate, yet, upon the whole, more comfortable."

[20] Ibid., p. 252.

in evil," reasoned Burns, "and as man has two natures--material and spiritual--in one person, he will be rewarded or punished in both."[21] He then noted the hope of reward offered by Jesus Christ. This led to the third portion of the discourse which emphasised how utterly important and comforting it was to be united to Christ. The application of the sermon began with a reference to the gospel preached during the Revival of 1742. He accentuated the fact that the same message was still being proclaimed. "We have still nothing to publish but Jesus Christ and him crucified," pleaded Burns. "Oh, will you not embrace the faithful saying?"[22] This led him to his final appeal for his listeners to profess their belief in that gospel. The final paragraph was a typical stirring, evangelical entreaty: "Dearly beloved friends, when we part in a church or in a market we cannot be sure of meeting there again; but in the place of graves it is most certain we shall all meet. Yet there is a separation,--ah, serious thought! Two congregations of the departed--right and left. 'Depart, ye cursed,' or 'Come, ye blessed,' will announce and fix our eternal state. Oh, to be numbered with the saints in glory everlasting--to find mercy of the Lord in that day."[23] The response to that open-air service was not that of an instant awakening of many persons. However, it has been accredited as having a noteworthy long-range affect in the final stages of preparation for the evangelistic work of the ensuing summer. Islay Burns suggested that it was only by the people exerting strong restraint over their emotions that a great awakening

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[21] Ibid., p. 256.

[22] Ibid., p. 259.

[23] Ibid., p. 260.

was not manifested on that very date.[24] And Anton related that in retrospect "many thought that the work of the succeeding summer was but the fruit of the seed sown in the graveyard that beautiful August afternoon."[25]

The spirit of a revival movement steadily increased throughout 1838. As individual cases of conversion were noted, accounts of those awakenings began to spread to other places. George Moody, son-in-law of W. H. Burns, had heard the content of some of those reports. Thus, during his annual summer holiday at Croy Cottage in the parish of Kilsyth, the professional writer made a private inquiry into the evangelistic work in the area. In a letter dated 5th September, 1838, to his sister in Edinburgh, Moody reported that the accounts she had received were "'altogether extravagant and exaggerated'" as to the extent of the movement. Nevertheless, he had observed that there had been "'a few very marked and decided cases,--instances in which the hearts of careless, and even profligate and apparently abandoned sinners, have been subdued under the power of the truth, and to all appearance savingly enlightened and changed.'"[26] In addition to the individual conversions, there was an improvement in the overall religious state of the parish. Moody could detect a "'general concern about spiritual things.'" And there was an obvious increase in the attendances at prayer meetings and at public worship.[27] Hence, as the year was coming to its close, the religious life in the parish of Kilsyth showed certain evidence of anticipating a spiritual awakening.

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[24] Ibid., p. 136.

[25] Anton, op. cit., p. 217.

[26] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 140.

[27] Ibid., p. 141.

Meanwhile, at Glasgow University where he had been studying for the ministry since the winter of 1834, William C. Burns also looked forward to the new year of 1839. During the previous academic session, he had decided to devote his life to the foreign mission field. Having followed that decision by applying for an assignment from the committee responsible for the Church of Scotland mission to India, W. C. Burns had remained at Glasgow for an extra term to continue his studies and to await a call to Asia. In the Spring of 1839 the colonial committee proposed that the young Burns fill a vacancy at St. John's, New Brunswick, until the India committee required his services. However, the latter committee was not receptive to such an arrangement. In March, W. C. Burns received an invitation from the Reverend Robert Murray M'Cheyne to temporarily take his place at St. Peter's Church, Dundee. M'Cheyne (1813-43), a young evangelical minister who had already become well-known in many parts of the Church, had been forced by a serious heart condition to take a leave of absence from his ministerial duties that winter. During the period of recuperation at his parents' home in Edinburgh, he became interested in a proposed Mission to Israel to present Christianity to the Jewish people. Upon the suggestion of Dr. Robert S. Candlish and with the full approval of his medical advisors, M'Cheyne elected to join a deputation from the Church of Scotland which was to make a journey of inquiry into the cause of Christian mission to the Jews. It is quite probable that M'Cheyne had been informed about the Burns family and of the work going on in the parish of Kilsyth from A. N. Somerville, a close friend and a former classmate in divinity at Edinburgh. Therefore, the young minister of Dundee requested the services of W. C. Burns while the former was engaged in the commission to Palestine. Still awaiting his

own missionary assignment, Burns was free to accept this interim position at St. Peter's Kirk. Arrangements were advanced by the Presbytery of Glasgow to license W. C. Burns on 27th March, 1839, just five days prior to his twenty-fourth birthday. And, at the beginning of April, he "'entered on my duties in that memorable field.'"[28]

Immediately, W. C. Burns recognized the enormous challenge which he had accepted and the almost complete lack of experience he had with which to fulfill such arduous responsibilities. The parishioners of St. Peter's Church also recognized his situation. In later years, Islay Burns, who himself ministered in that parish following M'Cheyne's early death, recalled having "heard old members of the congregation tell how their hearts trembled for him [viz., W. C. Burns], when they saw what seemed to them a mere stripling standing up in the place of one whom they so revered and honoured . . ."[29] Not only his presence but also his pulpit presentation was in contrast to the gifted M'Cheyne. Robert M'Cheyne was noted for his accomplishments in elocution; for his natural, unrehearsed physical gestures; for his eloquent use of simple, understandable language; and for his flair for rhetoric. He devoted scrupulous effort to the structure and mechanics of preparing the written manuscripts of his sermons which he then committed to memory and delivered without notes. M'Cheyne's overall manner in the pulpit conveyed deep pathos and confidence in the authority and power of the preaching office to change lives.[30] Compared with the polished

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[28] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, op. cit., p. 56.

[29] Ibid., p. 60.

[30] For a more complete account of M'Cheyne as a preacher, see David V. Yeaworth's unpublished thesis, Robert Murray M'Cheyne (1813-1843): A Study of an Early Nineteenth Century Evangelical, esp. pp. 191-224.

persuasiveness of M'Cheyne, W. C. Burns was rugged and forceful. His singular outstanding natural talent as a public speaker was his possession of an exhaustless, powerful voice which he learned to utilize to great advantage. His earnestness and self-control conveyed an impressive solemnity to the worshippers at Dundee. His delivery was measured and slow which produced an atmosphere of awesome power. The composition of his sermons revealed little artistic and no outstanding literary style. Neither did he show much imagination. The similitudes he employed were from the most commonplace circumstances of life. Burns primarily used his accomplished intellect to construct discourses in which the thinking was clear and understandable, and in which the main divisions were easily remembered. Moody Stuart, who was closely acquainted with him from the beginning of his ministry, described W. C. Burns, the preacher, as having "'no pathos, no fancy, little natural enthusiasm, and not much that could be called natural eloquence, but he had a firm grasp of gospel truth, a capacity for clear and forcible statement, and a voice capable of commanding any audience, however large, in the church, in the street, in the field.'"[31] Burns preached without notes. And, due to the manifold demands which the Dundee parish made upon his time, he sometimes preached without the benefit of the usual written preparations. Dated July 2nd, 1839, he confessed in his journal that the pressure of many engagements had prevented him from writing "'but a few sentences of the forenoon sermon'" for Sunday, 16th June. The following Sabbath, 23rd June, his conscience had weighed heavily upon him during the morning service because he knew that he had "'nothing written for the

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[31] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 63. See also pp. 61-62, 547-549; and Anton, op. cit., pp. 225-226.

afternoon, and my fears were that God was about to make me ashamed before the congregation that I might thenceforward prepare more carefully.'"[32] His fears were not realized. On the contrary, he recorded that he preached with almost more affection and power than ever before. Nevertheless, he resolved to more diligently prepare his sermons in the future "'if possible.'"

Though not an easy position for a licentiate to fill, the ministerial labours in St. Peter's Parish were satisfying and inspiring. The ministry of R. M. M'Cheyne had already had an affect upon the congregation. His evangelical enthusiasm and his confident expectation for lives to be changed had nurtured some spiritual excitement in Dundee. The witness of converts which had already been made had created some degree of anticipation for revival. Thus, W. C. Burns had the privilege of preaching to an overflowing congregation and the responsibility of guiding an awakening parish. The hope of revival in the Church had been a subject upon which Burns had often meditated as a divinity student. He especially studied Pentecost. He had come to regard that event, not only as a past fulfillment of God's promise to the Church, but also as a pattern of spiritual revival which the Church could hope to experience in any age. Undergirded by such convictions and humbled by his own insufficiency, W. C. Burns had accepted the supply work at Dundee as a divine commission. From the start, he seemed to adequately replace the absent M'Cheyne. Crowds continued to fill the church for public worship. Whenever Burns preached he was reputed to have made a sincere impression upon his hearers. His biographer liberally quoted from the letters and journals of W. C. Burns to show how fully the young

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[32] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

licentiate was convinced of the signs of revival in the parish. His writings became preoccupied with supplications for an evangelistic movement to be released in the Church.[33]

Then, in June, 1839, the missionary candidate received the long awaited call from the India committee to go to Poonah in the region of Bombay. And soon after, he was asked by the Jewish committee if he would go to Aden in Arabia. His dedication to the mission field had remained unchanged. Yet he was equally convinced that he was obliged to fulfill his engagement at Dundee. Faced with a dilemma as to his duty, he briefly left the work at St. Peter's to go to Kilsyth for the summer sacramental season in mid-July. W. C. Burns was to preach at the Fast Day service on 18th July. However, earlier in the week, his brother-in-law, George Moody, died at his home in Paisley and the funeral was fixed for that Thursday. Hence, the sacramental preparatory service was left to the guest ministers while W. H. Burns and his sons journeyed to "a work still more solemn." To W. C. Burns, the burial of his brother-in-law enforced upon his mind the depth to which the grace of the Son of God had gone to offer an opposite alternative to the eternal destiny of sinful man. One year later, W. C. Burns recollected that Moody's death was a source of blessing to the licentiate. "'I never enjoyed, I think, sweeter realizations of the glory and love of Jesus, and of the certainty and blessedness of his eternal kingdom, than when at Paisley on this solemn occasion."[34]

Having returned to Kilsyth, W. C. Burns preached on Friday evening. He used a sermon which he had previously delivered in Dundee. The text was Psalm cxxx.1,2, and the main written source for the

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[33] Ibid., pp. 64-82.

[34] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

preparation of the discourse had been a treatise by Owen. During the preparatory services on Saturday, young Burns preached at the Chapel-of-ease at Banton using as his text the third verse of the same Psalm. His uncle, Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley, was present at Banton and was so impressed with the power of his nephew's discourse that he insisted that W. C. Burns should take his place at the Communion Sabbath evening service and that Dr. Burns would in turn preach in place of his nephew at the Monday Thanksgiving service. The following day, while presiding at the third table service, Dr. Burns unexpectedly abbreviated his address and introduced W. C. Burns to speak to the entire congregation. In a brief, extemporaneous homily, the young licentiate described the experience of the saint who communes with Jesus and then "'was especially enabled to charge hundreds of the communicants with betraying Christ at his table.'"[35] Following that address it was reported that a few individuals and, in particular, one woman were "much moved". This also had been the case when W. C. Burns had preached on Friday and Saturday. On both evenings he had met a few persons who were anxious about their spiritual status and desired to receive eternal life. "'This brought the work of the Spirit before me in a more remarkable and glorious form than I had before witnessed it,'" commented Burns, "'and served at once to quicken my desires after, and encourage my anticipations of seeing some glorious manifestations of the Lord's saving strength.'"[36] Nevertheless, when he preached on Sabbath evening, he felt no added power nor did he notice any noteworthy response from the worshippers. It is interesting to observe that he preached the unwritten sermon from Matthew xi.28,

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[35] Ibid., p. 91.

[36] Ibid., p. 90.

which he had delivered at Dundee on 16th June. Evidently by this time, W. C. Burns had resolved his personal dilemma by deciding to accept one of the calls to the mission field.[37] This seemed to increase his frustration over his lack of effectiveness at the Sunday evening service. Finally, in a kind of act of desparation, he announced at the conclusion of the worship that he would preach a final sermon at the market-place on Tuesday morning "'before bidding them farewell--it might be never to meet again on earth.'"[38]

On Tuesday morning, 23rd July, 1839, it rained in Kilsyth. Therefore, as the appointed hour approached for the open-air service, the site was necessarily changed to the parish church. At 10:00 A.M., when W. C. Burns entered the pulpit, there was gathered before him an unusually large assembly of persons, dressed in their week-day work clothes and filling the seats, stairs, passages, and porches of the kirk. The young preacher and some of the congregation had come to that special public worship service with a conscious anticipation of the imminency of an awakening.[39] The service followed the traditional

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[37] Ibid., p. 90. This decision had been made by Saturday of that week. W. C. Burns remembered that on Saturday the decision had been discussed in the family circle and that Dr. Robert Burns had expressed the opinion "of its not being my duty to go abroad as I was on the eve of doing, but that I should be a home missionary in Scotland." See also Anton, op. cit., p. 217.

[38] Ibid., p. 91. W. C. Burns' personal explanation for the impulsive intimation was that he "felt such a yearning of heart over the poor people among whom I had spent so many of my youthful years in sin . . ."

[39] Ibid., p. 92-93. ". . . I remember in general that I had an intense longing for the conversion of souls and the glory of Emmanuel . . . I have since heard that some of the people of God in Kilsyth who had been longing and wrestling for a time of refreshing from the Lord's presence, and who had during much of the previous night been travailing in birth for souls, came to the meeting not only with the hope, but with well-nigh the certain anticipation of God's glorious appearing, from the impressions they had had upon their own souls of Jehovah's approaching glory and majesty, especially when pleading at his footstool."

order of public worship. The opening praise which was lined out was Psalm 102. The prayer before the sermon contained a special supplication for the Spirit of Pentecost to be poured out upon the worshippers. Again the young licentiate delivered a discourse which he had used previously. From his own account, he devulged that upon "'this subject I had studied and preached . . . at Dundee without any remarkable effect; and though I was so much enlarged on this occasion in discoursing from it, I have not been able to treat it in the same manner, or with the same effects, at any subsequent time.'"[40] Although the full manuscript was never written, notes containing the substance of the discourse were composed, and Islay Burns included it in the biography of his brother.

The text of the sermon was Psalm cx.3: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." In the introduction of his discourse, Burns emphasized that the condition of a man's will was of first importance in discerning the relationship of the person's soul to God. When a man's will is opposed to God's will as revealed in his law, it is a clear sign that the soul of that person is depraved. On the other hand, the souls of God's elect may be perceived by their willingness to serve God. Therefore, the text, reasoned the young preacher, was a description of the elect of God. "When God brings back in his infinite love the souls of his elect people to his service, he makes them willing,"[41] exposited Burns. This introduction led him to develop two main points from that theme. First, he sought to explain the nature of the willingness which characterizes God's people. Secondly, he revealed the nature of the day of power in which the

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[40] Ibid., p. 94.

[41] Ibid., p. 562.

promise regarding the elect was to be fulfilled. Under the first heading the young licentiate asserted that the persons who belong to God are willing to be saved by the righteousness of Christ. This condition can never be attained as long as any individual holds on to any belief in his own ability to help with his salvation. The willing convert is one who has recognized the hopelessness and the helplessness of his sinful state and then admits his complete dependance upon the imputed righteousness of Christ. Also God's elect are willing to be subject to the rulership of Christ. This not only involves an acquiescence to the law of God and the love of Christ, but it also requires a spirit of unwillingness to be a slave to sin. Finally, the true elect are willing to follow Christ at any price. "In giving themselves up to him," declared Burns, "they make no reserve, and are well satisfied to have him instead of all else that the world counts dear, and even at the expense of life itself."[42] In the second division of his discourse, the "day of Jesus' power" was identified. The first characteristic of that day was that it was the period of time when Christ was on the "mediatorial throne." Although it was pointed out that Jesus had always exercised a kingly power, the evangelical preacher advocated that the psalmist was referring to those latter times between the ascension and the second coming of Christ. Thus, the text applied to the contemporary scene. The message invoked Christians to anticipate the fulfilment of the promises relating to God's elect. The second identification mark of that day was that the gospel would be proclaimed with a reviving power. An example of the reasoning and language which soared from the young man's lips may be observed in the climax of this sub-point.

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[42] Ibid., p. 564.

> "And then, my friends, the matchless glories of Emmanuel are displayed, his preciousness is opened up, his love to sinners, and his willingness to receive with the open arms of his infinite love all that feel their ruined condition and are anxious for deliverance, are proclaimed and magnified; and thus a day of grace from on high is introduced, sinners are awakened, and are drawn to receive the Lord Jesus, being made 'willing in the day of his power.'"[43]

The third feature of the day of power was that the power of the Holy Spirit would be manifested in awakened lives. The outpouring of the Spirit of God was the essential difference between attentive worshippers and awakened sinners; between earnest attempts to reform one's life and the regeneration to a new life. To illustrate the potential reality of a day of power, Burns referred to the history of revival. In his written notes he simply listed them.[44] However, in delivering the sermon, it is most likely that he commented briefly upon them. This led to the conclusion which was aptly designated in the manuscript as "Heads of Application." The written notes for the conclusion contained a series of words and phrases to suggest the content of three main appeals to the congregation. First, Burns lamented that in those latter times of 1839 there was such scant evidence of a day of power. Next, he pleaded for sinners to accept Jesus and his righteousness. Finally, he censured Christians for their lack of desire for a day of power. Repeatedly he urged the people to pray for power to come--power such as that exemplified in the past at Shotts, Cambuslang, and Kilsyth. The last written note for that sermon read:

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[43] Ibid., p. 566.

[44] Ibid., p. 568. "Pentecost--Reformation--in Scotland, England, Ireland, particularly in Scotland--Shotts--Ayr--Irvine--Cambuslang--Kilsyth--Moulin--Glenlyon--Arran, and Skye."

"Conclusion extempore-- Σὺν Θεῷ, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ᾧ μονῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν."[45]

That was the core of the sermon at Kilsyth on 23rd July, 1839. It was an urgent call for a religious revival. The manner in which the message was delivered was a vital factor in the impression given that day. W. C. Burns' own memory of his style of presentation was that he was composed and calm. In fact, he claimed to have completed the service so filled with "'tranquil joy and praise'" that he went home and took a nap before the evening meeting.[46] Perhaps the young preacher remembered being calm because he was rather astonished by whatever composure he retained. Or possibly he could be justified in so describing himself from a relative viewpoint as he envisioned that memorable scene. For at least two eyewitnesses described the preaching of the young licentiate in highly emotional terms. His father, W. H. Burns, noted that the young preacher's awareness that he was about to leave Kilsyth, perhaps permanently, caused him to exhort people "with unusual solemnity and earnestness to an immediate acceptance of Christ as a saviour."[47] Islay Burns conceded that his brother was, as usual, "calm, deliberate, measured," during the first half of the discourse. Also he remarked that W. C. Burns seldom deviated during that portion from the exact wording and sequence of his written sermon. But as he continued to speak, his delivery seemed to be affected by "a current of strong emotion." His biographer graphically recapitulated the ardour of the preacher as it reached a crescendo.

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[45] Ibid., p. 568.

[46] Ibid., p. 96.

[47] New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

> "Appeal followed appeal in ever-increasing fervour and terrible energy, till at last, as he reached the climax of his argument, and vehemently urged his hearers to fight the battle that they might win the eternal prize, the words, 'no cross, no crown,' pealed from his lips, not so much like a sentence of ordinary speech, as a shout in the thick of battle. Another moment of intense and incontrollable emotion I vividly remember."[48]

One of the extemporaneous illustrations which emerged from that impassioned delivery was a detailed word-picture of a life-boat bringing hope and escape to the trembling passengers clinging to the gunwale of a foundering ship. Yet, even as the small vessel reached the endangered throng, many hesitated and seemed to waste the last fleeting opportunity of deliverance. As he described this event, the aroused preacher shouted as though he could see the sinking ship's passengers in the congregation before him: "'Are you in? are you in? Flee for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before you; now or never.'"[49]

During that service of public worship, W. H. Burns had noticed a scattered number of parishioners quietly weeping. But as the emotionalism and the intensity of the sermon presentation reached its peak, "almost the whole multitude burst simultaneously into a flood of tears, and many began to cry aloud to God for mercy."[50] This instantaneous outburst of emotion continued as the young preacher repeatedly urged lost sinners to accept the mercy of God. His pleadings were characterised by Scriptural language and quotations from such passages as Isaiah 60 and Revelation 22:17. Those who believed that they were already redeemed released their pent-up feelings with shouts

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[48] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 97.

[49] Ibid., p. 98.

[50] New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

of joy and praise. Many others, who seemed to be overcome by a new realization of sin and the terrifying prospect of Divine wrath, were weeping almost uncontrollably, crying out as if in pain, and even falling to the floor in acts of despair. Looking out upon that scene from his vantage-point, W. C. Burns was deeply impressed by what he termed an "'awfully vivid picture of the state of the ungodly in the day of Christ's coming to judgment.'"[51] The ferment continued even after the sermon had been completed. As the precentor lined-out the final psalm, those who were singing found "'our voices being mingled with the mourning groans of many prisoners sighing for deliverance.'"[52] Before the blessing was given, Dr. Robert Burns and W. H. Burns each made a few comments to the congregation and offered prayer. Then an intimation was given that there would be an evening service commencing at six o'clock. Thereafter, the public worship was concluded with the pronouncement of the blessing. It was 3:00 P.M.

From that date, William Chalmers Burns was the principal evangelist in the Revival of 1839 "for which his honoured parent had prepared the way by the patient siege of many years."[53] W. H. Burns himself exclaimed: "We have, as it were, been awakened from a dream of a hundred years!"[54]

On the evening of 23rd July, the church was again filled with expectant worshippers. The service was conducted by the Rev. John Lyon of Banton, who presented the lecture, and W. C. Burns, who delivered the sermon. An emotional response similar to that evoked

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[51] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 96.

[52] Ibid.

[53] I. Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, op. cit., p. 143.

[54] Ibid.

in the day was repeated. The ministers present and some of the parish elders assisted during and after the service by counseling with individuals who had been awakened. The next day a special meeting of the session was convened. A summary of the proceedings was chronicled in the session minutes as follows:

> "Session House, Kilsyth 24th July, 1839
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> The Session met and the Revd Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley engaged in prayer at some length. Then followed some conversation upon the present state of the parish in regard to the impression made by the services of the preceding day. Mr. Andrew Cleland was called on, by the Revd Wm Burns Modr, to pray for a blessing and for direction which he did accordingly.
>
> Wm Burns, Modr"[55]

Originally, W. C. Burns had intended to return on that day to Dundee. However, he agreed with the judgment of his father and others at Kilsyth that he remain for an extended time in his native parish. During that fortnight, Mr. Lyon commuted to Dundee to officiate at the services of public worship at St. Peter's Kirk.

The evangelistic movement was continued at Kilsyth with services held each night, most often in the church and, occasionally, in the market-place or in the churchyard. The principal ministers at these services were W. C. Burns and John Lyon. However, a number of neighbouring clergymen, especially from Glasgow, also visited the parish and preached to the crowds which regularly assembled. The elders of the parish further provided valuable assistance. Records of the Kilsyth Session reveal that these men had become accustomed to lead in prayer at their meetings. This talent which had been nurtured

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[55] Minutes of the Session of Kilsyth, 1820-1844. [The pages of the Session book were not numbered.]

under the ministry of W. H. Burns was valuably utilized in providing prayerful encouragement and counsel to individual converts. After the pattern of the Revival at Kilsyth in 1742, the elders "prayed with the distressed and spoke to them words of cheer and comfort."[56] Hence, the principal format of the revival was, first, the preaching of the Word, and, secondly, counseling individuals who evidenced an awakening. Those who became emotionally overcome were often ushered to the session house or the vestry for private guidance and instruction. At other times inquirers readily responded to invitations to go to the manse or the vestry for spiritual counsel from the minister and his various assistants. Prayer-meetings for all ages originated in neighbourhoods and in the surrounding hamlets. The chapel-of-ease at Banton became a second sanctuary site of evangelistic services. Family worship was revived in many homes. Farmers in their fields, employees in the weaving industry (which had been expanded in 1839 with a new steam weaving factory at Banton), and miners in the coal-pits were not infrequently seen conversing about religious subjects or even singing psalms together. The general environment of the parish was noticeably affected by the movement.

For W. C. Burns, the revival clearly affected his decision with regard to his immediate future. "'Finding myself in the midst of a great spiritual awakening,'" he reported, "'I was obliged to make known to both [mission] committees that, while my views regarding missionary work remained unchanged, yet I found that I must for the time remain where I was, and fulfil the work which God was laying upon me with a mighty hand.'"[57] Thus on 8th August, Burns returned to complete his

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[56]Anton, op. cit., p. 218.

[57]I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 56.

engagement at Dundee. During his absence, Mr. Lyon had kept the congregation at St. Peter's well-informed about the awakening at Kilsyth. His eye-witness accounts had deeply impressed many persons and had continued to foster the evangelistic spirit that had been growing since M'Cheyne had become the parish minister. Nevertheless, W. C. Burns did not resume his supply work with a conscious expectation that an awakening similar to the one at Kilsyth would commence in Dundee. The young licentiate had been well aware of the preparatory events leading to the revival at Kilsyth. He accredited his own instrumentality as only a secondary contribution to the work in his father's parish. He commented upon the cause of the revival at Kilsyth in a letter to M'Cheyne on 18th November, 1839, in which he professed "a full conviction that the work at Kilsyth was almost entirely dependent for its origin on the prayers of God's people there, which had been for some time incessant and most fervent."[58] And so, the young supply preacher arrived at Dundee anticipating a rest from the exhausting fortnight he had spent ministering at Kilsyth.

On Thursday, the day after his return, Burns conducted the regular weekly prayer-meeting. At the conclusion of that evening service, he presented a brief account of the revival at Kilsyth at the close of which he issued an invitation for those to remain "who felt the need of an outpouring of the Spirit to convert them."[59] Approximately one hundred remained. Burns delivered an address to those "anxious souls". Suddenly, during the conclusion of the discourse, there was an outburst of weeping among the inquirers. As a result of

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[58]Ibid., p. 560.

[59]Andrew A. Bonar, Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, p. 114.

that sign of an awakening, another prayer-meeting service was fixed for the next evening. Following that meeting, inquirers were invited to the vestry. A large number had crowded into the room when there occurred a scene remarkably similar to the emotional responses which took place at Kilsyth. "It was like a pent-up flood breaking forth; tears were streaming from the eyes of many, and some fell on the ground groaning, and weeping, and crying for mercy."[60] Thereafter, public worship was held in St. Peter's Church every night for nearly four months. The city and the surrounding area of Dundee took notice of the movement. Islay Burns described "the nightly journey of thirsty souls from far distances in the outskirts of the city, and in the rural parishes around."[61] Bonar recorded that during the revival "many believers doubted" and "the ungodly raged."[62] I. Burns admitted that the evangelistic services created a general sensation which was characterized by an "half-serious, half-curious"[63] spirit of inquiry. Nevertheless, each night there emerged from the crowded sanctuary numerous persons who sought further instruction and counsel. Unlike his father, who kept no detailed record of the revival at Kilsyth, W. C. Burns tried to maintain a personal chronicle of the work at Dundee. Early in September he began a new journal which he inscribed as "A Record of the Lord's Marvellous Doings for me and many other Sinners at Dundee, 1839." The first seventy-four pages of that private record were brief notes about individual persons who made inquiry and/or were awakened. Unfortunately, his biographer felt that

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[60] Ibid.

[61] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 110.

[62] A. Bonar, op. cit., p. 114.

[63] I. Burns, op. cit., p. 110.

Burns' account was "too brief and fragmentary" to be preserved. Therefore, he only published a few selected entries to supply various insights into the happenings at Dundee. Upon his return, M'Cheyne made some use of the actual journal in his follow-up ministry to those who had been awakened. In some cases, the pastor of St. Peter's made marginal notes beside individual names to indicate their spiritual state and to record their admission to the Lord's Supper.

As was the case in Kilsyth, evangelical ministers from near and far came to assist with the nightly services and with the fatiguing hours of counseling required. The selections from his journal reveal that the twenty-four year old licentiate gratefully welcomed guest preachers and looked upon them as further evidence of the outpouring of the Spirit of Pentecost upon Dundee. "How marvellous are the Lord's ways towards me and his people here!" penned Burns on 13th September. "He is sending his servants to us from east and west and north and south! Surely he has some great work of his glorious grace to do among us."[64] Ministers from Dundee parishes who often assisted in the work at St. Peter's were: George Lewis from St. David's Kirk; Charles Macalister of the Gaelic Chapel; William Reid, Chapelshade; John Baxter, Hilltown; and James Hamilton, assistant minister at Abernyte. Those mentioned from outside the Dundee area who visited and participated in the revival services included: Horatius Bonar from Kelso; John A. Bonar, Larbert; Patrick Miller, Edinburgh; William Walker, Edinburgh; A. N. Somerville, Anderson; and Dr. Morgan of Belfast. Those who assisted the twenty-four year old licentiate were also comparatively young preachers. With the exceptions of Macalister, who was 50, and Reid, aged 46, those listed were all under forty years of age.

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[64] Ibid., p. 115.

These men who conducted the revival of 1839 were among the first-fruits of the Evangelical Revival of the nineteenth century. Some of them had become evangelicals while attending the classrooms of Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh at Edinburgh University. Others, such as W. C. Burns, had been primarily influenced during their formative years by listening to such evangelical preachers as John Duncan and John Forbes of Glasgow; John Murray, Aberdeen; and Andrew Thomson and John Bruce, Edinburgh. These young preachers gave an enthusiasm and a sense of urgency to the evangelical appeal for lost sinners to believe the gospel of grace.

The order maintained at the nightly meetings in Dundee was that traditionally followed in regular services of public worship. In his journal entry of August 28th, Burns mentioned as a matter of course that "Mr. Baxter began the services by praise and prayer."[65] Other journal accounts testified that the lecture was often used--sometimes in place of preaching, and other times in addition to the sermon. An additional feature of these services was that Burns read a portion from Robe's narrative of the Kilsyth revival of 1742. This was inserted between the end of the discourse and the final prayer. Sometimes Burns would also give a brief address pertaining to the quotation from Robe. After the final prayer, the meeting concluded with praise and the blessing. Prayer was a very prominent part of the revival services. In addition to the fixed times for devotions in the order of worship, impromptu prayer was employed. Upon one occasion, Burns recounted that as he was nearing the end of an address he "stopped and sat down in silent prayer for five minutes, that all might be brought to the

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[65] Ibid., p. 112.

point of embracing Jesus."[66] No specimens or outlines of the content of the prayers have been preserved. From the various records it appears that the theme contained in every prayer was the supplication for the power of the Holy Spirit to convict and awaken sinners. The devotions were often continued at some length by the fervency and intenseness of the minister. Upon one occasion, W. C. Burns noted that while he was leading in public prayer he "found so much enlargement that I continued for more than fifty minutes, and at one time got so near a view of the glory of Emmanuel that I could hardly proceed."[67] Such ecstatic, divine assistance was not always sensed by the young evangelical preacher. During the strenuous pace of public services and private counseling, Burns felt at times bereft of divine power. While preaching at a churchyard service in August, he lamented that "after speaking about the usual time under great conscious desertion of the Spirit, I came to a close."[68] In his zeal to awaken sinners, the licentiate seemed to develop a mystical sensitivity as to whether God's Spirit was empowering his discourses. Most often he acknowledged such providential accompaniment. But when it was not experienced, his journal notes reveal his distress. On 13th September after preaching in M'Kenzie's Square, he recorded that he had spoken "at first with great want of faith and power, but after I had stopped and prayed, with very considerable liberty."[69] Similar observations were made in those comments recorded on Sunday, 6th October: "In the forenoon I preached with much comfort, though not with much depth of

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[66] Ibid., p. 113.

[67] Ibid., p. 122.

[68] Ibid., p. 112.

[69] Ibid., p. 115.

experience or present feeling of the truth, from Romans iii.20,21. In the afternoon I preached from I John i.3, last clause, and was much more assisted that in the forenoon, getting a nearer view of Jehovah, and a firmer hold of the truth and also of men's consciences."[70] Thus, the order of worship centered around the sermon. As can be seen in this paragraph, any discussion of the liturgy inevitably become focused upon the preaching of the Word. In fact, from the viewpoint of an evangelical preacher such as W. C. Burns, a principal function of prayer was its potency to empower the minister to deliver the discourse with authority and effectiveness. With the exception of the added feature of a reading from Robe's narrative, the public services of the revival of 1839 conformed to the traditional order of worship of that period with its primary emphasis upon the sermon.

While the spirit of revival grew in the area of Dundee, the movement in Kilsyth reached its climax in September, 1839. Three weeks after the revival had become so memorably manifest, the Kirk Session at Kilsyth met to conduct routine business.[71] Before that August 12th meeting concluded, W. H. Burns requested that the elders consider the propriety of an extra dispensation of the Lord's Supper in light of the religious awakening which was in progress. Following that proposal, "Alex^{r} Marshall was called upon to engage in prayer for

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[70] Ibid., p. 122.

[71] Minutes of the Session of Kilsyth, 1820-1844, op. cit. In the session records of Kilsyth, as well as in many kirk session minutes at that time, a common item of routine business was the hearing of parties reported to have had illicit relations. Typical was the entry in the Kilsyth records of the meeting of 12th August, 1839, at which Margaret Easton, who was unmarried, accused Robert Adam of being the father of her three-week old child. It was noted that Adam was "to be summoned to next meeting of session." Some form of repentance and/or restitution was required of the guilty persons before baptism would be administered to the child.

direction, after which several of the members stated their opinions. It was recommended that each of the Elders should make himself acquainted with the feelings of those with whom he may have an opportunity of conversing, and all agreed that nothing of the kind ought to be done, without much prayerful consideration. It was resolved that the session should again meet upon the subject before any public intimation be made."[72] A fortnight later, 26th August, 1839, the subject was broached again at a meeting of the Session. The records noted that "Rob^{t} Morrison and David Shaw prayed. After some conversation the Moderator proposed that the Sacrament of the supper (D.V.) should be dispenced in this parish on the Fourth sabbath of Sept^{r} next, being the 22nd day of that month which was agreed to."[73] Hence, just as the Revival at Kilsyth in 1742 was featured by an additional celebration of the Lord's Supper,[74] so it was determined in 1839 that an extra communion service would be appropriate to the awakening. By the time that September date arrived the revival movement in the parish of Kilsyth had become widely known. Many persons within the Presbytery of Glasgow and beyond had visited at least one of the nightly services and had spread their own eye-witness impressions of the awakening. And so, the news of a special occasion for the administration of the Lord's Supper at Kilsyth attracted an extraordinarily large assembly of people from many different parishes. When W. C. Burns boarded the seven A.M. boat at Edinburgh on 21st September, he

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] See, M.G.L. Duncan, History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, pp. 270-272. At that time the Sacrament was dispensed annually on the second sabbath of June. In 1742, it was also administered on the third Sunday of October. (See also, New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, p. 150.)

discovered that it was nearly filled with persons going to the communion at Kilsyth. There were also six ministers plus the licentiate, W. C. Burns, who had been invited to assist W. H. Burns with the many services.[75] Altogether W. H. Burns reported that "a great many ministers were present, and probably not fewer than 10,000 people assembled, some of them from a great distance."[76]

W. C. Burns preached the preparatory sermon on Saturday afternoon. His text was Romans x.4. From the wording of the young licentiate's journal, it was implied that the assisting ministers did not always know in advance their various responsibilities. It was upon his arrival at Kilsyth at 12:45 P.M. on Saturday that W. C. Burns "found that I was expected to officiate at half-past two o'clock."[77] Similarly, on the following Monday he noted that "having risen from a refreshing sleep at twelve noon, I was told that I was expected to preach the second sermon about two at the tent."[78] It appears that the ministerial assistants were literally on call during the sacramental season. At least that was true among fellow-evangelicals who were accustomed to preaching extemporaneously from a few notes relating to a text which they had previously studied and, probably, had preached upon to their own parish. The rather impromptu delegation of duties was not indicated to be a unique method. Nevertheless, W. C. Burns

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[75]The six assisting ministers were: Dr. Daniel Dewar, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen; A. N. Somerville of Anderson Church, Glasgow; Dr. Charles J. Brown, New North Parish, Edinburgh; Samuel Martin, Bathgate; Lewis Rose, Gaelic Chapel, Duke Street, Glasgow; and George Middleton, Strathmiglo.

[76]New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

[77]I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 103.

[78]Ibid., p. 104.

admitted to feeling some anxiety on Monday when he went to the tent because he had made no special preparation and there was in the crowd of about two thousand "an immense number of ministers and preachers." However, the young licentiate exultantly testified that he "was enabled in private and public prayer to cast myself on the Lord, and he did not prove a wilderness to me, a land of darkness, but aided me beyond all my expectations. The text from which I spoke was Ezekiel xxxvi.26, . . . and I found so much laid to my hand, both in expounding and applying the subject, that I could hardly get done."[79]

There was another sense in which that communion occasion at Kilsyth proceeded in an unplanned way. The extra sacramental season had occurred because of the revival which was in progress. Thus, the leaders of the services connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper were also desireous of advancing the manifestations of awakenings and conversions. This stimulated extra efforts to employ certain means of grace by which the spirit of revival would be perpetuated. Couper recorded that individuals and small groups were engaged in prayer throughout Thursday night,[80] and Anton claimed that on Saturday prayer and the singing of psalms "could be heard at intervals the whole night through."[81] On Communion Sabbath the services began at ten in the morning and continued until sometime between nine and ten that night. There were eight table services. When the communion service ended, the evening service commenced at seven o'clock without an interval between the two. Hence, the evening worship was held in the church. And W. C. Burns, who had preached a two-hour discourse

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[79]Ibid., p. 105.

[80]Couper, op. cit., p. 123.

[81]Anton, op. cit., p. 218.

from the tent that afternoon, was recalled to the outdoor pulpit to deliver a sermon to those who were not inside the church. After those services, the preachers, with the exception of W. H. Burns and Lewis Rose, were having tea at the manse when W. C. Burns suggested that a meeting should be held in the kirk the remainder of the night. Although the suggestion did not receive unanimous enthusiasm, five of them did return to the church where they rang the bell to signal an invitation to the impromptu service. While the people assembled, Samuel Martin and George Middleton led in prayer. Then Charles Brown led the singing of Psalm lxxii and delivered an address upon that passage of Scripture. He concluded with public prayer. W. C. Burns' journal account indicated the order of events and the zealous craving for conversions which characterized the spirit of that all-night meeting.

> "When he [Brown] had concluded, Mr. Martin spoke on Psalm xiv to those still unawakened, and engaged in prayer according to concert specially for the same class. Mr. Somerville then addressed the awakened, but not yet converted, from the account of the conversion of Saul, and afterwards prayed for them as Mr. Martin had before done for the others. I was then called in conclusion to speak more generally to all, and did so at considerable length and very calmly from the first four verses of the 116th Psalm, which having been sung the whole was concluded with prayer."[82]

The service did induce its desired results. Burns asserted that after the meeting ended at three A.M. there were so many that had been awakened that "Mr. Somerville and I were forced to remain in the session-house with the distressed, instructing and praying till between five and six o'clock, when we went home to rest."[83]

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[82] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 104.

[83] Ibid.

On Monday there were two thanksgiving services. During the day, a service in which there were two discourses delivered was conducted at the tent from eleven in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon. Then at eight P.M. the final scheduled service of the sacramental season was held in the church. But again, as on the previous night, W. C. Burns felt an intense longing for an additional effort to be made in behalf of the unconverted. He lamented that they would be leaving "this blessed season farther in many cases from Jesus than before." Therefore, with the consent of Brown, who had preached at the concluding service, young Burns invited those "who knew that they were still unconverted," plus any others, to remain for an additional meeting for prayer and preaching. Those who were the objects of the impromptu service were carefully seated in the front seats of the sanctuary while others who remained sat behind them. W. C. Burns conducted the meeting which began with singing and a "long-continued prayer". Then the young licentiate preached "at great length" an exhortation for the unconverted to immediately believe in Christ. The words of his own journal give some insight into the impassioned and compulsive mood which characterized the young preacher's final plea for awakened and converted souls.

> "In this work I was assisted, I think as much as ever before in my life, having a degree of tenderness and affection which my hard, hard heart is rarely privileged to feel, and in prayer I was favoured with peculiar nearness to God, in so much that at one time I felt as if really in contact with the Divine presence, and could hardly go on; while at the same blessed season there seemed to be a general and sweet melting of heart among the audience, and many of the unconverted were weeping bitterly aloud, though I spoke throughout with perfect calmness and solemnity."[84]

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[84] Ibid., p. 106.

The meeting was dismissed between one and two A. M. on Tuesday morning. Many persons adjourned from the kirk to the session-house where W. H. Burns and Mr. Rose had been receiving those who were distressed. They continued their counseling session for several hours longer, witnessing, as they told us when they came home, the most wonderful displays of the Holy Spirit's work."[85]

The conclusion of the special sacramental season, with its extraordinary number of services and meetings, became the point of climax for the Revival at Kilsyth. It seemed as though the communion season had absorbed and exhausted the particular outpouring of the spirit of revival which had awakened the parish during the previous two months. One year, six months later, W. H. Burns recalled the spiritual savor of that September Communion with its accompanying fruit of revival. Pensively he acknowledged that thereafter "this remarkable anxiety gradually subsided, and has not since returned in the same wonderful degree."[86] The nightly worship services were replaced by weekly prayer meetings and, in many homes, by regular family worship. Emotional manifestations became less common during worship services, and the number of awakenings steadily decreased. Quite soon, observed Islay Burns, "currents alike of religious experience and of ordinary human life flowed once more in their customary channels."[87] In some cases, lives regretfully returned to their customary channels. Both W. H. Burns and the family chronicler, Islay Burns, admitted to some disappointments during the post-revival period.

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[85] Ibid.

[86] New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 150.

[87] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 107.

Applying the parable of the sower to the aftermath of the religious awakening, the latter conceded that some who appeared to have been converted did, in fact, wither away. There were some "temporary professors" and some "imperfect conversions". The minister of Kilsyth confessed that "some who once promised well, have sadly disappointed our hopes; and that many who shared for a time in the general anxiety about salvation, have sunk back into their former deadness and impenitence."[88] On the other hand, the seed of revival did fall on much good ground. W. H. Burns was convinced that during the two years subsequent to the revival there had been sufficient evidence to show that a noteable number of individuals had been truly converted. Furthermore, he testified that the religious and moral conditions in the parish had greatly improved. "The places of worship are better attended, and there is more general seriousness during divine service, than formerly;" he attested, "many family altars have been erected; there is a greater degree of zeal among us for missionary objects; and there are about thirty weekly prayer meetings of a private kind among the people, not including those which are connected with the Dissenting bodies."[89] Looking back over the two decades which followed the revival, Islay Burns sought to answer criticisms which asserted that the movement of 1839 had caused no permanent change upon the community of Kilsyth. First, he argued from the standpoint of historical analogy. His hypothesis was that the evangelism of the first century Christian Church did not transform the societies within which it acquired many genuine converts. Without considering the comparative sizes and sociological factors of certain first century cities

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[88] New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VIII, op. cit., p. 150.

[89] Ibid.

with mid-nineteenth century Kilsyth, Burns claimed that the early records gave no indications that the Christian Church caused observable changes to communities such as Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. He posited that "an intelligent and shrewd observer might have passed through Corinth, and even lived in it for weeks, during the very time of St. Paul's ministry there, and yet never have seen, or heard, or suspected that anything extraordinary had taken place, or was going on there."[90] Secondly, Burns pointed out that the Disruption caused a fundamental reconstruction of religious life in parishes. The primary change was that the churches became "more congregational and less parochial". Such a basic reconstruction within Kilsyth diminished the visible effects of the parish-wide awakening of 1839. Thirdly, a sociological change occurred in Kilsyth a few years after the revival. A large colony of navvies employed on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway settled in the parish. "Thus," noted Burns, "the congregation and village community of to-day is at best the descendant only, rather than the continuation and actual representative of the revived Church and parish of twenty years ago."[91] Within the parish, then, the permanent change wrought by the revival took place in the first generation converts. Burns testified that "only those coals that had been thoroughly ignited continued to burn on. But these did burn on . . ."[92]

Had the value of the Revival of Kilsyth been confined solely to its effects within the parish, it would not have been an unusually significant movement in the history of evangelism in Scotland. For

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[90] I. Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, op. cit., p. 175.

[91] Ibid., p. 178.

[92] Ibid., p. 177.

the awakening at Kilsyth was of a short duration and had a limited influence upon individual and corporate life within the parish. The measure of importance given to the revival is due to its influence beyond the geographical boundaries of the parish of Kilsyth. From those scenes of the awakenings which occurred in public worship at Kilsyth and Banton, the spirit of revival of religion became a topic of discussion over an even wider area of the country.

In August, 1839, the revival spread to Dundee where W. C. Burns was supplying the pulpit at St. Peter's Church. On 4th September, the subject of religious revivals was brought before a meeting of Glasgow Presbytery. Patrick Fairbairn, minister at Bridgeton Chapel, called the attention of the presbytery to the awakening at Kilsyth and proposed that W. H. Burns report on the progress of that movement. Burns proceeded to present "at considerable length" a full account of the revival. The Reverend Dr. John Forbes, minister of St. Paul's, Glasgow, led the presbyters in a prayer of thanksgiving and supplication for the movement at Kilsyth. Then Burns was requested to submit a transcript of his report to the Presbytery Clerk for printing and distribution among all the ministers of that judicatory. Finally, the Presbytery "recommended to the Ministers within their bounds to direct the attention of their congregations on sabbath fortnight to the subject of Revivals of Religion, and that the statement to be drawn up by Mr. Burns be read by them on said occasion."[93] Burns' report was printed and sent to the ministers of the presbytery. However, there was no subsequent information recorded to indicate how well the above recommendation was observed. The movement which began

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[93] Presbytery of Glasgow Records, vol. commencing 7th March, 1838, p. 161.

at Kilsyth was also a topic of discussion at the Autumn meeting of the Synod of Dumfries. As a result, the synod appointed 3rd November, 1839, for the purpose of directing the worshippers in each of her parishes to consider the revivals in the west of Scotland. Again, the records are silent as to the manner in which this assignment was carried out. However, there was one sermon preached on the occasion to which some people objected. Because of its controversial content, the minister printed the discourse to defend and clarify his position. "Sermon, in Reference to the Late Revivals at Kilsyth" was written by the Reverend Thomas Grierson, minister of the parish church at Kirkbean. In the preface of the printed sermon, Grierson stated that he did not intend to deny the possibility of God enacting sudden and miraculous conversions among people; but he did wish to advocate great caution to determine "whether events may not be accounted for from merely natural causes, without the direct intervention of any supernatural agency."[94] The text for the sermon was I John v.4--"Whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world." Initially, the preacher of Kirkbean exposited that regeneration was purely a work of God which was "wholly inexplicable to us". Then he set forth the criterion for judging the validity of the change issued from a new birth. These high norms were: (1) all the powers and faculties of a person's mind and heart will be enlightened; (2) there will be a studious growth into conformity with God's image as seen in Christ; (3) "all doubting and uncertainty in the important points of duty and religion will be perfectly removed";[95] and (4) these effectual changes will be evident

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[94]Thomas Grierson, Sermon, in Reference to the Late Revivals at Kilsyth, p.iv.

[95]Ibid., p. 13.

in a person's life and conversation. Grierson did not say whether he had ever witnessed a person who, by the above standards, had been born truly of God. Excusing himself by the limits of time, he did not develop the second half of the text. Instead, the preacher hastened to apply the text to the so-called revivals of religion which had taken place in and extended from Kilsyth. Grierson did not doubt the sincerity of those who participated in the movement. He exonerated them from any charges of hypocrisy and deceit. In his opinion, they were simply deluded. He explained the basis for his skepticism. He claimed that similar religious "demonstrations" had frequently happened in Scotland without any permanent beneficial affects resulting. Grierson was convinced that "the calmer and less ostentatious manifestations of Christ's kingdom in the heart, are far more in accordance with my impressions of what we ought to pray for, and what we are led, in Scripture, to expect."[96] In most cases, he asserted, the process of regeneration "gradually works its sure and silent way into the soul, and proves its reality by a modest and unpretending, but regular and permanent discharge of those active duties which are so strictly enjoined in the Gospel."[97] Therefore, he concluded the discourse by exhorting his listeners to view the revivals with caution. He directed them to defer judgment for the immediate present. Then, if the converts of the movement maintained a steadfastness of faith and a consistency in their performance of religious duty, the revivals may be pronounced valid. However, if the converts fell away, as Grierson felt was probable in a very short time, it must be resolved that true religion had not been born. Therefore, although the actual movement

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[96] Ibid., p. 23.

[97] Ibid.

was drawing to a close in the parish of Kilsyth, it was exerting a widening influence upon other churches in Scotland. Both as a movement which was beginning to visit other areas and as a topic of discussion and debate, the Church in Scotland was fixing its attention upon evangelism in a manner it had not done since the Revivals at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in 1742 and the days of George Whitefield's visits to Scotland. Thomas Grierson's sermon revealed an area of the Church which was professedly skeptical of the revival. But those who objected to Grierson's sermon plus the continued spread of the movement revealed that in that day of evangelical ascendency the vocal majority were favourable towards and hopeful for the awakening at Kilsyth becoming the origin of the evangelization of Scotland.

As interest increased in the revivals at Kilsyth and Dundee, W. C. Burns began to be invited to conduct evangelistic services in other churches. After participating in the September communion season at Kilsyth, the young preacher made a brief excursion to Paisley, Kirkintilloch, and Denny. At the High Church, Paisley, where he preached from Job xxxiii.23, he observed that the emotional response from the worshippers was particularly noticeable "not so much when preaching, as when expounding briefly Philippians ii.5-9."[98] Burns was not only invited to church pulpits. He was also a guest speaker at various schools, institutions, and societies. His journal contained a brief narrative of his visits to the Orphan Hospital and the Greenside Female School in Edinburgh on 16th October, 1839. He was especially touched by the response to his sermon which he preached to the orphans at their chapel. "Some of the boys and girls were crying,"

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[98] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 124.

he recorded, "and when I bade them farewell, they unwillingly and with many tears withdrew."[99] When Burns did preach in other churches, it was not exclusively in the pulpits of the Established Church. On 4th November, the young licentiate delivered the sermon at a public worship service in the Secession Church in St. Andrews. At that service to which about 500 attended, including "the elite of the town," a number of persons remained after the service to be counselled "about the state of their souls." Burns himself spoke with a group of between fifty and sixty people. The young licentiate noted that some of those he counselled had been spiritually awakened for the first time. Again the common emotional responses of tears and "silent weeping" were aroused. Burns' journal also contained a brief outline of the order of worship which revealed that the traditional liturgy continued to be practiced. The entry read: "Mr. Taylor, the minister, began with singing and prayer, and after Mr. Lothian had said a few words, I entered the Secession pulpit and preached after prayer and praise to a most attentive and solemnized audience from Isaiah xlii.21."[100]

When W. C. Burns accepted the invitation to become the temporary supply minister at St. Peter's, Dundee, Robert Murray M'Cheyne wrote a letter to him which contained the following prophetic aspiration: "I hope you may be a thousand times more blessed among them than I ever was. Perhaps there are many souls that would never have been saved under my ministry, who may be touched under yours; and God has taken this method of bringing you into my place."[101] On Thursday, 23rd November, M'Cheyne arrived in Dundee from his mission to the Jews.

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[99] Ibid., p. 126.

[100] Ibid., p. 127.

[101] Andrew A. Bonar, op. cit., p. 89.

He and his companions had only received some concise information about the revival movement as they neared the end of their journey. As recently as 6th November, M'Cheyne had written to his parents that he had read a newspaper item which mentioned the revival at Kilsyth and which also referred to Dundee as being associated with it. "I earnestly hope good has been doing in our Church," he yearned. ". . . We are quite ignorant of the facts, and you may believe we are anxious to hear."[102] At the evening meeting on the day of his arrival, M'Cheyne conducted the service at St. Peter's Church. Rather than report about his journey, he preached an evangelistic sermon to the congregation which filled the sanctuary. His text was I Corinthians ii.1-4. He was greatly inspired by the mood of "deepest and tenderest emotion" which prevaded the worshippers. After the service he found a large number of parishioners waiting outside the kirk to personally welcome him back. A few days later, in a letter to his intimate friend, Andrew A. Bonar, he described his initial impressions by happily declaring that "everything here I have found in a state better than I expected."[103] On Friday, W. C. Burns returned to Dundee from an engagement in Dunfermline. Following the evening service at which M'Cheyne led the praises and the devotions and Burns preached, the two young preachers met together to discuss the revival movement and various future plans. They were concerned about the gradual decrease in the attendances at week-night services. They tentatively planned an extra celebration of Communion before the next regular quarterly dispensation. Then they analyzed the need for pastoral care among those who appeared to have been awakened. M'Cheyne's health had not

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[102] Ibid., p. 113.

[103] Ibid., p. 117.

been fully restored and he was uncertain as to his capacity to pursue the full duties of a parish minister. He asked Burns to consider remaining in Dundee. However, with the return of the parish minister, W. C. Burns felt that his work at St. Peter's had ended. Although occasionally he re-visited Dundee and at certain times did assist M'Cheyne, Burns devoted himself to the work of an evangelist. Thus, the leadership of the revival at Dundee was passed to Robert Murray M'Cheyne.

Sensing the imminent expiration of his earthly life and inspite of his constantly weak condition, M'Cheyne carried out a remarkable ministry, especially in nurturing those who had been awakened during the height of the revival. There was never any evidence of envy towards the one who had been the chief instrument of the awakening. A month after his return, M'Cheyne wrote a thank-you letter to W. C. Burns in which he humbly testified that God had "answered prayer to me in all that has happened, in a way which I have never told anyone."[104] M'Cheyne was greatly pleased that some of those who were converts during the revival had been first awakened under his ministry at St. Peter's prior to his illness. In one of his letters to a friend he declared: "I find many souls saved under my own ministry, whom I never knew of before. They are not afraid to come out now, it has become so common a thing to be concerned about the soul."[105] Though extra services were no longer required after his return and although the number of awakenings at public worship were much fewer, the revival did not so completely subside as it had at Kilsyth. Two years after his return, he refused an offer to be translated to a different parish.

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[104] Ibid., p. 119.

[105] Ibid., p. 120.

One reason for his decision was that there were continuing evidences of the spirit of revival at work in his ministry in Dundee. Writing his refusal on Christmas Eve, 1841, M'Cheyne claimed that he had never lacked fulfilment in his labours. "I do not think," he asserted, "I can speak a month in this parish without winning some souls."[106] The following May he made a special note in his diary of awakenings which were occurring at that time, concluding the entry with the characteristicly humbling comment: "I feel persuaded that if I could follow the Lord more fully myself, my ministry would be used to make a deeper impression that it has yet done."[107] Evidences of the continuing of the revival did gradually fade, although communion seasons, which were held at St. Peter's each quarter, were often marked by new awakenings and by the familiar emotional responses of the revival. The last disclosures of revival were recorded in the final entry of his diary, dated 6th January, 1843. In it, he elatedly penned: "Two new cases of awakening; both very deep and touching. At the very time when I was beginning to give up in despair, God gives me tokens of his presence returning."[108]

While the ministry of M'Cheyne witnessed a diminished, less spectacular prolongation of the autumn revival of 1839, his most effective labour was in the pastoral care of those who had become distressed or awakened at the various meetings and worship services. The work of evangelism in the movement of 1839 was two-fold--preaching at public worship and counseling of individuals. M'Cheyne estimated that during the autumn of 1839 "not fewer than from 600 to 700 came

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[106] Ibid., p. 139.

[107] Ibid., p. 142.

[108] Ibid., p. 148.

to converse with the ministers about their souls; and there were many more, equally concerned, who never came forward in this way."[109] The parishioners at Dundee viewed their minister as one who was personally concerned for their souls. The respect and admiration in which he was held drew inquirers to him rather than elevating him to an aloof position. W. Norrie recounted that the people viewed M'Cheyne with "an esteem and reverence altogether singular towards so young a man, and which had their foundation in the deep and universal conviction of his perfect integrity of purpose, his unbending sincerity and truthfulness, his Christian generosity of spirit, and in the persuasion that he was a man who lived near to God."[110] When this beloved minister returned to his revived parish, he observed that many who had been awakened were in a state of great confusion and anxiety. Regarding such persons, he discerned that they were so convicted by sin that they felt incapable of receiving grace. He described their anguish to Andrew Bonar: "They think that coming to Christ is some strange act of their mind, different from believing what God has said of His Son; so much so, that they will tell you with one breath, I believe all that God has said, and yet with the next complain that they cannot come to Christ, or close with Christ. It is very hard to deal with this delusion."[111] Therefore, M'Cheyne devoted considerable time and effort in seeking to lead the awakened to a sound conversion. Many had been aroused by the evangelical doctrine of sin; alarmed by a new conviction of personal guilt; and terrified by the

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[109] Ibid., pp. 545-546. From a paper by R. M. M'Cheyne entitled "Evidence on Revivals."

[110] W. Norrie, Dundee Celebrities of the Nineteenth Century, p. 84.

[111] Andrew A. Bonar, op. cit., p. 118.

threat of God's approaching wrath. As an exemplary evangelical, M'Cheyne felt an urgency to convince the convicted of the all-sufficient grace of Christ so that they might become truly converted. The state of being awakened was a temporary condition from which a person would either fall further away from Christ or else would embrace salvation by faith. Hence, a person who was spiritually distressed presented a unique, but fleeting, opportunity for a soul to be saved. Under this view, the ministry to individuals was given the prior claim over all other pastoral duties. Within a fortnight after his return, M'Cheyne had set aside an evening for the purpose of counseling the awakened. On that first night, 3rd December, 1839, twenty "anxious souls" visited him. Thereafter, he established the practice of fixing an evening for the specific purpose of meeting with individuals who had become awakened. His biographer compiled the fact that in one of M'Cheyne's notebooks "there are at least four hundred visits recorded, made to him by inquiring souls, in the course of that and the following years."[112] The sense of urgency and zeal for the conversion of his parishioners never faded. During the final months of his life, he revealed in one of his manuscripts that he was nearly overwhelmed with the thought "that every one of my flock must soon be in heaven or hell. Oh, how I wished that I had a tongue like thunder, that I might make all hear; or that I had a frame like iron, that I might visit every one, and say, 'Escape for thy life!' Ah, sinners! you little know how I fear that you will lay the blame of your damnation at my door."[113] This concern was intensified in part because, as the revival

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[112] Ibid., p. 120. This is a remarkable number in light of the fact that M'Cheyne only lived for forty months after his return to Dundee.

[113] Ibid., p. 148.

diminished, some people who had appeared to have been converted soon forgot their vows and gave evidence of having rejected the Gospel. Although such cases were called "backslidings," the evangelicals did not actually regard such persons as ever having truly been saved. Bonar clearly pronounced that "it is the creed of every sound evangelical Church, that those who do go back to perdition were persons who never really believed in Jesus."[114] Nevertheless, backslidings were a disturbing after-effect of a revival movement. The dread of false conversions contributed to the manner of persistency in exhorting and counseling the awakened to make a commitment to Christ. It also tended among evangelicals to create a cautious attitude towards the awakened before counting them among the truly saved.

In addition to public worship services and individual counseling sessions, another type of activity which greatly increased during the revival at Dundee was the private prayer meeting. A few prayer groups had been formed under the encouragements of M'Cheyne prior to 1839. But it was not until the awakening was in progress that such groups multiplied. Some of the new groups were strictly private gatherings of professed Christians. Their meetings were not open to the public. The content of their gatherings was almost exclusively prayer and praise. Other groups followed the general pattern of public fellowship meetings. The latter groups were not restricted to confirmed Christians. During their meetings, in addition to prayer and praise, a portion of Scripture was read and expounded or a question was put out for discussion. When M'Cheyne returned from the mission to the Jews, he observed that there were thirty-nine of these weekly meetings in the parish and that "five of these were conducted and attended

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[114] Ibid., p. 121.

entirely by little children."[115] A year and a half later the minister of St. Peter's noted that approximately the same number of groups were still active and that their membership had become fixed to the point that nearly all of them would be categorized as private meetings. M'Cheyne maintained some oversight of these groups, especially with the view of encouraging certain persons to become a part of the weekly classes of instruction which he conducted.

Robert Murray M'Cheyne also played a significant role in the spread of the revival movement beyond his own parish. Often the occasions for his visits to other pulpits were invitations to report about the mission to the Jews. These reports were also evangelistic discourses. In July, 1840, and in the same month a year later, he visited Ireland at the invitation of the Presbyterian Church in that country. He was also in demand to preach during the sacramental season in a number of parishes. A. A. Bonar stated that the young minister found such satisfaction in preaching that he admitted "that he could scarcely ever resist an invitation to preach."[116] As he more frequently experienced this satisfaction of preaching from place to place, he gave serious consideration as to whether he was being called to leave his parish labours to become a full-time evangelist in the Church of Scotland. During his travels to various churches, M'Cheyne became increasingly concerned about parishes which were ministered to by Moderate men. The young evangelical noted in his diary that because of the length of an incumbency, a parish might not hear the true gospel message for several generations. He came to believe that the Church should devise some method whereby "the truth"

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[115] Ibid., pp. 544-545. ("Evidence on Revivals", paper)

[116] Ibid., p. 137.

could be sent into the "dead parishes" of Moderate ministers. The office of evangelist towards which he felt drawn was envisioned as a possible remedy for the great need which he believed to exist in certain pulpits. In his diary he suggested: "Should not certain men be ordained as evangelists, with full power to preach in every pulpit of their district,--faithful, judicious, lively preachers, who may go from parish to parish, and thus carry life into many a dead corner?"[117] Although M'Cheyne did not leave his parish to become a full-time evangelist, nor did he see his proposal become officially adopted by the Church of Scotland, he periodically embarked upon the labours of an evangelist. Inspite of deteriorating health, he accepted an invitation during the summer of 1842 to be a member of a party of ministers who planned an evangelistic tour into northern England. Other participating evangelicals were A. N. Somerville, Horatius Bonar, Alexander Cumming, and John Purves. The journey began in Mid-August and was completed at the beginning of September. The headquarters for their work was Newcastle, which also had been visited by W. C. Burns. Little details were recorded about the tour except that the young preachers felt that they were well-received and that there were evidences of spiritual awakenings. They conducted their preaching services in the open air and in places of worship belonging to the Presbyterian Church in England and to the Wesleyan Methodists. M'Cheyne seemed to thrive on such an exertion. Upon his return to Dundee he claimed renewed health and vigor. In every way the journey was so successful that he expressed the desire for "more usefulness." Regardless of some vocal objections from certain parishioners about the frequency of his absences from Dundee, M'Cheyne went to London for

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[117] Ibid., p. 138.

ten days in November to assist James Hamilton at the communion season of the National Scots Church, Regent Square. According to A. A. Bonar, it was M'Cheyne's zeal for evangelistic labours which prompted him to travel to London.[118] In mid-January, 1843, he made a short preaching visit to Collace, and to Lintrathen. By this time the kirk session of St. Peter's had procured an assistant minister to attend to the many needs of the parish which M'Cheyne was not able to do along with his preaching and evangelistic work. M'Cheyne's participation in the internal struggle which was about to disrupt the Church of Scotland led to his final evangelistic tour. Appointed by the Committee of the Convocation, he and John Alexander, minister of St. Brice Church in Kirkcaldy, made a three-week preaching tour during February into the Synod of Aberdeen. They concentrated their activity in the Presbyteries of Deer and Ellon where Moderatism had been reputedly entrenched for many years. During their three-week tour, they preached at least once in twenty-four different places. On 24th February, M'Cheyne stated in a letter to a friend that that day was "the first we have rested since leaving home, so that I am almost overcome with fatigue."[119] Although they sensed resentment from people in a few places, the two evangelical preachers did not experience great hostility. References by evangelicals to such Moderate dominated territory sounded as though it was an enemy stronghold. Yet M'Cheyne's few letters indicate that they were permitted to preach in not a few church pulpits, and there were no indications of unpleasant encounters with parish ministers. The visiting preachers were chiefly concerned about evangelizing the country. Their sermons

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[118] Ibid., p. 145.

[119] Ibid., p. 160.

contained the evangelical message which had been used throughout the revival movement--ruin by the Fall, righteousness by Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Spirit. At the same time, it was known that the team of ministers was sent by the Committee of the Convocation, and that they were active in the party of non-intrusion. Such tours as that by M'Cheyne and Alexander were not only credited with occasioning a spiritual awakening, but were also alleged to have aroused considerable support for the non-intrusionist cause.[120] In that way the revival movement of 1839 played a distinguishable role in the ecclesiastical conflict within the Church of Scotland.

While R. M. M'Cheyne resumed the pastoral leadership of St. Peter's Church, Dundee, and also embarked upon periodic evangelistic tours, W. C. Burns continued to be the principal figure in the spread of revival to other areas of Scotland. Still not ordained and without an official position, Burns became, in a real sense, an evangelist. M'Cheyne had requested the young licentiate to remain in Dundee to aid with the revival work there. But no definite arrangement was made between the two men. How much assistance would be required by M'Cheyne depended upon the latter's delicate health. From the activity of Burns during the late autumn of 1839, it appears that he intended to be available as needed in Dundee. At the same time, he was at liberty to accept invitations to preach in other places. After assisting with the services at St. Peter's on M'Cheyne's initial week-end back in the parish, Burns made a preaching tour the following week to

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[120]See, C. G. McCrie, The Church of Scotland: Her Divisions and Reunions, p. 107; also, J.R. Fleming, A History of the Church of Scotland 1843-1874, p. 8. NOTE: During the Ten Years' Conflict, evangelical ministers increasingly travelled about the Church in behalf of various causes, such as Church Extension, the Mission to the Jews, and the Non-Intrusion Controversy.

Abernyte, Bridge of Earn, and Perth. During the two days he stayed in Perth, he became acquainted with John Milne (1807-1868) who was in his first month as the minister of St. Leonard's Parish Church. Burns noted in his journal that Mr. Milne seemed "deeply anxious for a stirring among the dry bones in poor Perth, where they are very many and very dry."[121] From Perth, Burns passed through Dundee on his way to St. Andrews. On the first Sunday of December, the young licentiate preached in the morning at Strathkinnes. In the afternoon he conducted a service in the parish kirk in St. Andrews, and in the evening he delivered a discourse from the Secession pulpit in the ecclesiastical bourgh. The next day Burns met and spoke to inquirers, preached at an afternoon service for fishermen, and lectured at a public meeting in the Secession Church that evening. Then he returned to Dundee. He reflected over the signs of awakenings which were seen during his ministrations in other parishes. He pondered the need for his services in St. Peter's parish. In his journal he expressed an inner conflict "in knowing my own duty, whether to remain steadily in Dundee or to visit it only among the many places which seem at present ripe for the harvest."[122] Though the struggle was still unresolved, Burns left Dundee before the week was over to preach in the west. On this two-week journey he visited Kilsyth, the Glasgow University Missionary Society, Port-Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Bo'ness, and Dunfermline. A comment written in his journal during that trip revealed that he

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[121] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[122] Ibid., 134.

considered his labours to be that of an evangelist.[123] Burns returned to Dundee a few days before Christmas. On 26th December, the young evangelist left for Perth. He had agreed to preach at an evening service there.

In general, wherever Burns preached the people who attended the services came with some expectation of the occurrance of religious excitement. It was common for some worshippers to be crying during the evangelist's preaching and for some to remain after the services for counseling. But when Burns preached that December evening at Perth, the response of the people was more encouraging to the young evangelical than any of his other itinerancies. Therefore, he was easily persuaded to remain in Perth for a few more days. Evening services were immediately established and well attended. On the last Sunday of the year the young evangelist preached at the East Church in the morning, at St. Leonard's Kirk in the afternoon, and again in the evening at St. Leonard's. At the end of that Sabbath day, he exclaimed in his journal that the final service of the day, which had extended until eleven o'clock, was "very similar to some of the Lord's most gracious visits at Kilsyth and Dundee."[124] The following day an even larger congregation filled St. Leonard's for a Monday afternoon service which lasted from one until four o'clock. In the evening the young licentiate preached in the Gaelic Church to a "much affected" gathering. Inquirers who remained filled the small session-house. The local minister, Charles Stewart, and Burns sought to minister to the solemn, the crying, and the distressed by a service in which there

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[123] Ibid., p. 137. ". . . though it is always duty to be doing the work of an evangelist, it is a duty entirely dependent upon the prior one of 'living in the Spirit.'"

[124] Ibid., p. 141.

was singing, a reading, a short address, and praying. On 31st December, 1839, a 1:00 P.M. service was held after which "the vestry was filled with weepers, with whom we had to pray and sing a long time."[125] Another meeting took place in the evening at seven o'clock. Then at ten p.m. a third worship service transpired in St. Leonard's Church. Alexander Cumming from Dumbarney, John Milne, and W. C. Burns shared the leadership of the meeting which continued until 1:00 A.M. "I never brought in the New Year so sweetly before," wrote the stimulated evangelist. And, undoubtedly, neither had a number of other Scotsmen.

The revival movement now focused upon Perth. The attention and the energies of evangelicals responded to the aid of Burns and Milne, who were the principal leaders in that awakening. On the final day of 1839, M'Cheyne relieved Burns' troubled conscience concerning his duty to Dundee. "Stay where you are, dear brother, as long as the Lord has any work for you to do," wrote M'Cheyne to the young evangelist. ". . . You know I told you my mind plainly, that I thought the Lord had so blessed you in Dundee, that you were called to a fuller and deeper work there; but if the Lord accompanies you to other places, I have nothing to object."[126] Thereafter Burns only visited Dundee upon special occasions when he was particularly invited to preach or to assist during communion seasons. From January until April, 1840, the young evangelist lived and laboured in Perth. Public worship was held on week-nights and at several appointed times on Sundays. Large crowds attended these services. Occasionally some had to be turned away for lack of room in the kirk. Most of the preaching

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[125] Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[126] Andrew A. Bonar, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

at these services was undertaken by Milne and Burns. Some assistance was given by other evangelicals, especially Alexander Cumming and Andrew Bonar. Regarding the participation of the local ministers in Perth, Milne charged in a letter dated 10th February, 1840, that "Mr. Gray is the only town minister that stands by us, though he takes no active part in the services, as he is occupied with the non-intrusion question, of which he is the great champion."[127] Milne's biographer concluded that there was great opposition to the revival. He recalled seeing abusive signs and distorted caricatures of Milne and Burns scrawled in chalk upon the walls of St. Leonard's Church. Equally alarming were the indications that "some calling themselves evangelicals stood quite aloof. They honoured routine, and condemned what they reckoned disorder and excitement."[128] Horatius Bonar related that there was one occasion when even the "managers" of St. Leonard's Kirk expressed their desire to refuse the use of the church to Burns' preaching. The resolution was squelched, however, when Milne publicly intimated that "'The day that my pulpit is closed against Mr. Burns will be the day of my farewell to Perth.'"[129] Though these charges contained some truth, they must be regarded as exaggerated. The journal of W. C. Burns contained evidence that the local ministers of Reformed congregations did render some support to the revival both by participating occasionally in services and allowing the principal evangelist to preach from their pulpits. In addition to St. Leonard's, there were five other churches of the Established Kirk. The extracts from Burns' journal mentioned services

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[127] Horatius Bonar, Life of the Rev. John Milne of Perth, p. 21.

[128] Ibid., footnote p. 21.

[129] Ibid.

being held in each of them with the exception of the Middle Parish. Since the full chronicle was not preserved, it cannot be concluded that the Middle Parish Kirk and its minister did not participate in the awakening. Each of the other four Church of Scotland ministers was mentioned either as participating or attending revival services in their respective churches. Neither in the selections from Burns' records nor in the comments by his biographer were there any references to overt hostility to the evangelistic efforts.[130] St. Leonard's Church was the main location for the revival services. And its minister, Mr. Milne, and the young evangelist, W. C. Burns, accepted between them almost the sole responsibility for the preaching and the counseling labours. Perhaps Milne and his biographer believed that other ministers, especially evangelicals, should have provided more assistance in the work. Regardless of such opinions, the charges of opposition by the clergy have not been unconditionally substantiated.

While W. C. Burns was lodging and labouring in Perth, he also made a few evangelistic excursions to towns and villages in that area of Scotland. Those named in his journal and his biography are: Stanley, Balbiggie, Auchtermuchty, Auchtergaven, Kinfauns, Caputh, Muthil, Dunfermline, and Strathmiglo. In these villages he found a number of persons who had already attended some of the revival services

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[130] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., pp. 141-147. "Sabbath, December 29th, 1839, forenoon.--Preached in East Church, Dr. Esdaile's . . . Monday, December 30th, 1839.-- . . . Evening; an immensely crowded audience in the Gaelic Church . . . Mr. Stewart concluded with prayer . . . Sabbath, January 5th, 1840, . . . Afternoon, I preached in Mr. Gray's on Ezekiel xxxvi.26, 1st clause . . . Sabbath, January 12th, 1840, . . . Evening, preached in Dr. Findlay's from Ephesians iv.30, on the work of the Holy Spirit . . . Dr. Findlay was with me in the pulpit." NOTE: In addition to the six Church of Scotland kirks in Perth, there were also fourteen other churches in the former Scottish capital. (See, New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. X, p. 117.) Their particular relationship to the revival movement in Perth was not discussed in any of the resources.

in Perth. During these brief circuits to other churches and during his sojourn in Perth, Burns began to clarify his own concept of what his brother termed "a distinctively evangelistic ministry." He identified it with the vision which he still retained of a missionary's responsibilities. The function of the evangelist was that of proclaiming the Gospel so that sinners would realize their lost condition and penitently accept Jesus "as God's free gift." The primary purpose of the evangelist was to awaken sinners to believe the Gospel. When this function had been accomplished, the responsibility of counseling the awakened into a firm state of conversion was delegated to the pastoral office. The evangelist was called to a mobile ministry of awakening sinners. The local minister was the abiding shepherd who nurtured and guided the penitent in the way of salvation. As he more clearly defined this particular ministry, he more frequently referred to himself as an evangelist or an ambassador of Christ. Employing this concept to the revival movement in Perth, Burns decided in March that the situation no longer required the full-time services of an evangelist. The needs were of a pastoral nature, "and that work he felt was abundantly safe in the hands of Mr. Milne, Mr. Gray, and the other brethren with whom it had been his privilege and delight to labour throughout the whole course of those eventful days."[131] Therefore, on 7th April, 1840, W. C. Burns left Perth to accept the repeated invitations he had received to visit Aberdeen.

During the three weeks in which Burns laboured in Aberdeen, the spirit of revival was manifested in like manner to the preceeding awakenings at Kilsyth, Dundee, and Perth. Each Sabbath the young

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[131] Ibid., p. 150. NOTE: This is further evidence of the participation of Perth ministers in the revival movement.

evangelist preached in three different churches to crowded congregations. Week days were absorbed with prayer meetings in the morning and afternoon; preaching at an evening service, which was usually followed by a period of instruction and prayer with the awakened; and counseling the inquirers who came to him during the other available hours of the day. Burns also found time to occasionally preach in the open air, especially in Castle Street and at the foot of Barrack Hill. Though the local ministers approved of the meetings in the churches, they did not support open air preaching by the evangelist. Burns admitted that "none of the ministers were in favour of the street-preaching but Mr. Parker. He and his session all went to Castle Street."[132] Nevertheless, the young licentiate believed that street preaching was a part of his evangelistic duties in taking the Gospel to all mankind. He was convinced that preaching in the open air was a divinely appointed course by which those who would not enter a church might be awakened. A brief summary of the content of his outdoor discourses was recorded in his journal. On the evening of 26th April, in Castle Street, Burns preached a sermon about the thief on the cross. The theme of his message was that Jesus was willing to save the chief of sinners. According to the young evangelist, included in the audience were some of "the poorest and vilest of the people," the majority of whom were men. Burns applied his discourse to those listeners with a fervour intended "to pull sinners out of the fire." The responses to that method and manner of proclaiming the Gospel were emotional and effective. From the crowd which gathered in the street there were "many weeping, some screaming, and one or two

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[132] Ibid., p. 161.

quite overpowered."[133] Those who were awakened via street preaching began to attend the revival services in the churches. These results were so apparent that by the end of Burns' visit in Aberdeen some of the local ministers changed their minds and gave their countenance to open air services.[134] During the last week of April, street preaching became practically a regular part of the revival events. In that same period, Burns also visited the army barracks at Aberdeen to preach and instruct the soldiers stationed there. Again, the results were encouraging. On his final day in Aberdeen, he spent the afternoon preaching at the foot of the Barrack Hill and then conducting a prayer meeting with some of the soldiers in their barracks.

Because of commitments to preach in other parts of Scotland, W. C. Burns left Aberdeen on 1st May. The young evangelist's estimation of the religious state of that city was that there were "very hopeful symptoms of an extensive awakening."[135] There was good hope that the revival movement would be fully manifest. But, since that fulfilment had not been fully accomplished, there was further need for the labours of an evangelist. In agreement with the most co-operative of the Aberdeen ministers, Burns determined to return there in the autumn.

Exhausted from the rigorous, multiple labours in Perth and Aberdeen, the twenty-five year old evangelist returned to Dundee. After participating in the services on the first Sabbath of May, he

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[133] Ibid., p. 160.

[134] Ibid., p. 162. In his journal entry for April 29th, Burns remarked with satisfaction: "I preached in the evening in Holburn Church; an immense audience, the result of the outdoor preaching, as Mr. Mitchell granted with good-will, his mind seemed to be a good deal changed on this point."

[135] Ibid., pp. 164-165.

confided to his diary that he was thoroughly tired and "needed rest for the body and a season of solemn retirement to meet with the Lord in personal communion."[136] Nevertheless, three days later, Burns was preaching in Stirling. Again he confessed: "I did not come here with an expectation of doing much, on two grounds: 1st, That my bodily strength was much reduced; and 2nd, my mind needed recreation to restore its elasticity and power."[137] He attempted to continue fulfilling the engagements that had been made. However, in mid-May he became so ill that he was bedfast for two weeks in the manse at Collessie where the Rev. and Mrs. M'Farlane cared for him. Shortly after his recovery, Burns received a brief note from another who long had experienced the distress of broken health. Writing to invite the young evangelist to preach at the Thursday and Sabbath services in Dundee, M'Cheyne also included a few comments about his own attitude towards suffering. He attributed afflictions to be a mode by which God attempted to discipline men. In his own case, when he had experienced ill-health which prevented him from doing his ministry, M'Cheyne "felt it was to teach me the need of prayer for my people. I used often to say, Now God is teaching me the use of prayer."[138]

As soon as he was able to travel, Burns left Collessie to continue his preaching tour. Though not at a peak of good health, he was at a height of popularity. A good reputation preceeded him, and a

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[136] Ibid., p. 191.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Andrew A. Bonar, op. cit., pp. 280-281. From a letter from R. M. M'Cheyne to W. C. Burns dated June 10, 1840. About two years later, in a letter to the Reverend D. Campbell of Lawers, M'Cheyne testified: "I have been often brought very low, but it has been always good for me. In this way God educates His ministers, both for His temple below, and for being pillars in the temple above." (p. 313)

hospitable reception welcomed him wherever he journeyed. Even Burns' biographer thought it remarkable that the young evangelist was met so consistently "with unexpected encouragement and support even from some of those ministers who would have been thought least likely to favour his line of things."[139] During June, 1840, the licentiate's trek of preaching stops can be traced from Collessie to Kettle, Kilconquhar, Anstruther, Strathmiglo, Milnathort, Cleish, Kinross, Dunfermline, Stirling, and Gargunnock. Early in July, he continued on to Kippen before arriving at his native Kilsyth. At home in Kilsyth, Burns found needed time and place for a retreat from his accepted vocation as an evangelist. For nearly a month he remained there spending some of the time in "quiet pastoral work". Then, on the 12th August, he resumed his itinerancy with two days of "incessant labour" in Glasgow. The biography of W. C. Burns contains the evangelist's journal entries from mid-August until the middle of September. From Glasgow his August preaching points took him to Inverarnan, Lawers, Fortingall, Ardeonaig, Aberfeldy, Lawers [again], and Kiltire. In early September, Burns preached at Moulin and Tenandry before arriving at Logierait on Saturday night, September 12th. For a fortnight, while the parish pastor was away, the itinerating licentiate lived in the manse and held services at Logierait and in surrounding communities.

William Burns' diary does not mention his state of health. Apparently, during his month's retreat in Kilsyth, he had recovered completely from the exhaustion and the illness that had overcome him in May. Instead of any physical strain, the evangelist's journal contains an interesting insight into a spiritual strain experienced by

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[139] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 92. The author specifically points out that various Moderate ministers were included in those who welcomed W. C. Burns to their pulpits.

the young preacher. Early in his evangelistic ministry, Burns had adopted the method of extemporaneous preaching. Thus, rather than being dependent upon God in the period of sermon preparation, he sought particular guidance from the Spirit in the time of sermon delivery. The word he most frequently used for this divine guidance was "assistance". Remarks made to his own diary reveal that at least from mid-August to mid-September of 1840, W. C. Burns experienced times of almost desperate struggle for that essential assistance to extemporaneous preaching. The first indication of this was noted on Sunday, August 16th, at Lawers where, at a noon-day service attended by an estimated 1500 persons, Burns preached "'with little assistance, speaking comparatively.'" He confessed that "'at the end I told them that I had got no message for them from the Lord, but that I was not therefore led to despair of yet getting a blessing among them, as I generally found that when the Lord meant to pour out his Spirit, he first made both preacher and people sensible that without him they could do nothing.'"[140] Satisfied by God's guidance in the services of Sunday evening, Monday at 12:00 and 6:00 P.M., and Tuesday at noon, the evangelist intimated some uncertainty regarding the Tuesday evening service at Lawers when he wrote that he "'enjoyed some degree of assistance, I think.'"[141] Apprehension gripped him on Friday of the same week before a mid-day service in Fortingall,[142] although he experienced that needed assistance during the service which did not end until 4:00 P.M. This spiritual struggle for divine aid in

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[140] Ibid., p. 196.

[141] Ibid., p. 199.

[142] Ibid. "'. . . this morning I felt such an entire vacancy of mind and heart, that it seemed impossible that I could preach.'"

extemporaneous preaching was evidenced in journal entries on five different occasions during the next two and one-half weeks.[143] Since the full text of Burns' diary was not preserved, there is no opportunity to determine how unique or how common were these times of spiritual anxiety. That struggle was not apparent in the selections from the diary covering the remaining months of 1840 which were included by Islay Burns. Also, the biographer did feel led to remark upon and to try to explain the reasons for the strained experiences of August and September. Labelling Burns' method as "subjective preaching" and his whole ministry too "exceptional" to be placed in comparison with other preachers, Islay Burns sought to point out the uniqueness of the man and his mission. As an evangelist, Burns' vocation was compared with that of a prophet in contrast to a pastor whose function is similar to the Old Testament priest. The latter were to study and teach scriptural truths and to apply and enforce Christian duty in a steady, on-going, objective ministry. The evangelist, however, was called from time to time to deliver a timely message from God which has been given "under the immediate impulse of the Spirit." It followed then that W. C. Burns "spoke, apparently could speak, only what he felt, and that only while he felt it, and so far as he felt it. He must utter the very present experience and conviction of his soul, or be silent altogether. Out of the abundance of the heart alone could his mouth speak. The declaration of a mere intellectual belief, or remembered conviction of the past, seemed to him a mockery and almost a falsehood. His preaching was thus in the strictest sense a cardiphonia -- the voice of an instrument that could sound only as the

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[143] Ibid., pp. 201-207. The content of two of these entries is so revealing of the attitude and observations of William Burns that they have been incorporated as Appendix E of this thesis.

breath of the eternal Spirit of God swept over it."[144] The biographer offered a second and more pragmatic reason for the inner struggle of the young licentiate. The relentless pace that had been maintained for over a year was physically exhausting and mentally draining. Whether spending time in one place or itinerating, Burns had been continually preaching several days each week and several times on many days. He did not take time for study or, very often, for relaxation. "In more favourable circumstances his spiritual experiences might have been more equable, and his power in the pulpit more constant."[145] At least one entry in his diary reveals that the young evangelist did feel the pressure and strains from the preaching pace which he had felt led to follow.

> "'Monday, September 14th. -- This day I spent chiefly alone, in letter-writing, etc., having no meeting in the evening. Oh! how sweet and profitable to my soul I find a day on which I have no public duty! Would that I had more such, if it were the Lord's holy will! In ordinary cases they would be absolutely indispensable, but when the Lord moves in so mighty and soverign a manner as he is doing now, the mountains become a plain.'"[146]

Since leaving Aberdeen on 1st May, 1840, W. C. Burns had experienced a period of personal trials and triumphs. Whether ever repeated or unique, the summer of 1840 was a period of physical, emotional, and spiritual strain between depression and ecstasy. Perhaps the low point was reached on 28th August, when travelling near the foot of Glen Lyon, the troubled itinerant knelt among the rocks and cried "'aloud for help to the Lord. The Lord heard me I think, though,

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[144] Ibid., p. 213.

[145] Ibid., p. 215.

[146] Ibid., p. 210.

alas! I neither then, nor almost at any time, can get so near to him as I did in former times; I come rather as a minister than as a sinner. Lord, help me!'"[147] At the end of September, his expectations were renewed as he left the itinerancy behind to return, as promised, to the work of revival in Aberdeen.

Though he had been away for five months, W. C. Burns resumed his evangelistic endeavours where he had left them. For two months he held preaching services in churches, in session-houses, and in school rooms. No mention is made of open air services, though the reason for discontinuing that method of preaching may have been necessitated simply by the weather conditions in Aberdeen during that time of year. Included in the work was the counseling of those awakened spiritually. This feature of revival had not been as conscientiously carried out in evangelistic itinerating.[148] Or it was largely left behind for the local pastor and session to carry out. But in Aberdeen, as at Perth, Dundee, and Kilsyth, Burns, assisted by many local ministers and teachers, spent considerable time with "inquirers". "So great at one time was the number of anxious, that appointments made for their special behoof would be responded to by such crowds, that individual instruction became impossible, and the inquirers' meeting grew into a congregation."[149] Islay Burns revealed that in the evangelist's "Aberdeen diary" there is specific mention of the 200th case of "spiritual anxiety" with whom Burns himself had

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[147] Ibid., p. 204.

[148] Ibid., p. 205. For example, at Lawers, Burns wrote in his diary that "'we have never needed to have any of those after-meetings which I have found so necessary and useful in other places, the people were so deeply moved under the ordinary services.'"

[149] Ibid., pp. 165-166.

ministered. Although the biographer submits but seven entries from that portion of the diary covering October and November, the reader senses no feelings of discouragement nor of personal struggle in the young preacher. Exhilarated by the crowded attendance at worship services and by the increasing numbers of inquirers, the writings of the young revivalist flow with descriptions of the visible signs of awakened lives and with exclamatory phrases of praise to God. Mid-way through the two-month period, Burns claimed that "'this was the most glorious season, I think, that I have yet seen in Aberdeen. Many poor sinners lay weeping all the night on their knees in prayer, and some of the Lord's people present seemed to be filled with you.'"[150] The pace and the spirit of that revival continued without decline right up to the close of Burns' participation in it. Not because the revival had subsided, but because he accepted the call to temporarily fill the vacancy at the new Dudhope Church in Dundee, the young licentiate departed from Aberdeen on Saturday morning, 5th December.

When mill-girls, who had been known to pursue a second occupation on the streets of Aberdeen each Saturday night, began to carry Bibles to work .... when from 200 to 2,000 persons are gathering for public worship on week-nights as well as Sabbaths .... when newspaper editorials are printing certain views of curious religious activities .... when the public has been aroused by mixed opinions about the "religious excitement" stirring the community -- the judicatory of the church, sooner or later, feels called to investigate. Therefore, three days after Burns departed for Dundee, the Presbytery of Aberdeen appointed a Committee on Revivals. The remit submitted to the eleven-man committee directed it "to collect correct information

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[150] Ibid., pp. 166-167.

[on the subject of Revivals] with especial reference to the case of Aberdeen, and report to a future meeting of Presbytery."[151] The appointment of the committee came as a direct result of an original motion by W. R. Pirie, Minister of the Parish of Dyce,[152] calling for the Presbytery "as guardians of religion" to investigate reports claiming that some of the sermons delivered "by a person understood to be a Licentiate of the Church of Scotland" created offensive and "most irregular" scenes "injurious to the interests of religion." The motion concluded by calling for specific investigation of "meetings held in Bonaccord Church on Saturday November 21st Monday, November 23 in the evening and in the North Church Monday November the 29th."[153] This motion plus a second one from Mr. Murray that "any inquiry into the matter was inexpedient" were withdrawn to allow the motion to be made appointing a committee to consider the entire subject. That final motion was adopted "without a vote, from which finding Messrs. Murray and Mitchell dissented and took instruments."

The Committee, with Mr. Pirie as Convener, immediately set about its task. Unanimously the members agreed that the word "revival" meant "cases of real, or supposed conversions from sin to holiness, or awakenings, as resulting from certain known means, assumed to be originated and applied by the Spirit of God."[154] From this definition, the Committee determined that it should divide its inquiry into three main areas: (1) evidence to support claims of true conversions or

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[151] Records of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Vol. 13, p. 211.

[152] In 1843, W. R. Pirie became Professor of Divinity at Marischal College, Aberdeen.

[153] Ibid., pp. 210-211.

[154] Evidence on Revivals, p. 3.

awakenings; (2) evidence as to how far the occasions when conversions or awakenings took place were scripturally valid and under the guidance of the Spirit of God; and (3) evidence of the immediate and permanent effects on those converted or awakened. At St. Mary's Chapel, 22nd December, 1840, the Committee began the process of examining witnesses of the revival movement. At the outset it was the Committee's decision neither to invite nor to accept testimony from any person regarded as "irreligious". On that first day of hearing witnesses, three Aberdeen newspaper men were examined. James Hall Wilson, sub-editor and reporter for the "Aberdeen Herald", had written a very descriptive and critical editorial, entitled "Revival Meeting" about the service on 23rd November in Bonaccord Church. In the same November 28th edition of the "Herald", Editor James Adam printed an article, entitled "Revivals in Aberdeen", based upon his observations of the revival service on Saturday, 21st November. The third witness was James Bruce, reporter for "Constitutional" and "Journal", who attended the 23rd November service, although he apparently did not print his views. Mainly motivated by curiosity that was aroused by hearsay reports, these reporters had individually attended one or the other of the November 21st and 23rd services being investigated. Their testimonies, given one at a time, were essentially in agreement. In their opinion, the order of worship was disordered -- prayers, praise, preaching occured spontaneously according to the mood of the leader, W. C. Burns; the preaching was disjointed -- the young evangelist attempted to present various messages to worshippers in the pews and spectators in the gallery; the emotionalism was disgusting -- the manner of the preacher seemed intensely calculated to produce outbursts of loud crying, wild gesturing, and unbecoming postures on pews, floor,

and passages. Both Wilson and Adam affirmed their respective belief in the accuracy of their printed articles. These articles were included in the evidence collected by the committee. Wilson concluded that the spectacle was "one of the most deplorable exhibitions of misguided enthusiasm, of moral insanity, which could possibly be imagined. We have given the speeches as they were delivered, but it is utterly impossible to represent the tone, and gesture, and emphasis of the speaker, or the unearthly sounds that issued from the girls affected, in a manner sufficiently expressive of their real character."[155] All three reporters did admit that they witnessed other services during the Revival which were more orderly and calm. Burns was described as calm and coherent. And there was noticeably less emotionalism among the worshippers. On that occasion Wilson claimed that Burns "complained that the Spirit would not work or operate"[156] that night. Adam wondered "whether it was owing to the number of strangers present from curiosity, or to private instructions given to the Revivalist, in consequence of the remonstrances of friends," that "the crying had not been so loud as on Saturday or Monday [November 21 and 23]." Burns "own language has been nearly as extravagant as ever, but, instead of courting excitement, he has, on more than one occasion, begged his hearers to be calm."[157] The particular services which had stirred public opposition seemed to be more extreme than usual. However, the general conduct and order of the revival services apparently were not unlike ordinary public worship services in certain Presbyterian churches in Aberdeen.

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[155] Ibid., Appendix, p. xi.

[156] Ibid., p. 6.

[157] Ibid., Appendix, p. iii.

Admitting his own bias, the editor of the Aberdeen "Herald" charged that "the course pursued of late by our Non-Intrusion clergy, both in their public and private ministrations, has been most effectually paving the way for such enthusiasts as Mr. Burns. Their sermons and prayer meetings, although they do not exhibit the same extravagances in language and behaviour as those of the Revivalist, have a strong tinge of the same character. . . . We trust that, after seeing the effect of their system of preaching and acting fully carried out in the case of Mr. Burns and his silly hearers, they will learn to throw aside their unscriptural affectations, and become a little more truly what they call themselves -- Evangelical preachers."[158] The questions and their answers were read to the three witnesses. Each attested to the accurateness of the written record. Thus ended the first day of hearings by the Committee on Revivals.

The next day, 23rd December, the Committee re-convened to continue their task. Before examining the next witness, the committee discussed their procedure for continuing their work. It was agreed that no hearsay evidence would be accepted; but that only personal knowledge and opinions would be requested of witnesses. Committee members also formulated a list of thirteen questions to send to selected individuals living too far from Aberdeen to testify in person. Correspondence was not initiated until 19th January, 1841, when two additional questions were added to the original thirteen. These, along with the committee's definition of "Revival", were posted to fourteen ministers and three laymen in various parishes of the Established Kirk. Replies were received from eight ministers and none of the laymen. Additional written evidence was furnished from

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[158] Ibid., Appendix, p. v.

three other ministers and one elder. Letters from three individuals who had been interviewed in person also were accepted into the written records of the committee. Just how influential the accumulated correspondence was in determining the conclusions adopted by the committee is open to question. On the very day the enquiries were ordered to be transmitted, the Convener, W. R. Pirie, propounded that "no answers which may be given to these written queries can be held as qualifying or modifying the conclusions at which the evidence laid before the committee ["viva voce" examination], with reference to the town of Aberdeen, may fairly enable them to attain."[159] True to its assignment, the committee collected information on the subject of revivals. But the main effort of the group centered upon the specific study of the revival movement in Aberdeen.

From mid-December, 1840, until its final report to Presbytery in May, 1841, the Committee on Revivals met no fewer than twelve times to examine witnesses, to review correspondence, and to deliberate together. Written records were continually kept of the proceedings. At the request of the committee and by the consent of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, the written materials maintained and collected were eventually printed for distribution. The chief value of this material is that it contains the transcribed "viva voce" examinations of seventeen persons who gave testimony to the committee. The committee was faithful to its initial resolve to examine witnesses who were favourable and those who were unfavourable to the revival activities. The most notable and most perplexing omission from the list of witnesses were the names of Aberdeen clergymen. With the exception of W. C. Burns, a licentiate in the Established Kirk, those interviewed

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[159] Ibid., p. 55.

were laymen. The other category of persons almost completely neglected was that of professed converts via the revival services. Only one convert, a farmer named Charles Troup, was examined. In addition to the three newspaper men plus another employee from the "constitutional" who was later examined, those with unfavourable impressions of the revival seemed to represent the upper class of society. They were: William Simpson, Procurator-fiscal; William Watson, Sheriff Substitute; and Henry Paterson, Banker. The ten witnesses who testified in favour of the revival were of mixed stations in life. They were: William Clark, Elder in Bonaccord Kirk; James Kerr, Elder in Bonaccord Kirk; Alexander Leslie, Elder in West Parish Kirk; William Henderson, Doctor of Medicine; Robert Ness, Coachsmith; Alexander Laing, Coach and Heraldry Painter; David Mitchell, Advocate; James Reid, Joiner; Charles Troup; and, of course, W. C. Burns.

The personal knowledge and impressions given to the committee by the seventeen witnesses were obviously affected by their respective expectations for the revival movement. This was especially clear in their testimony concerning one of the most controversial features of the revival services -- emotionalism. Those who viewed the "religious excitement" as curious spectators described the sounds from those emotional scenes with interesting analogies, such as "they resembled the caterwauling of an enormous quantity of cats", "a man who had been shot through the body", "like the noise of pigeons in a very large dovecot".[160] On the other hand, supporters of the revival viewed the demonstrations of emotion with no alarm. Rather, the observed crying, moaning, kneeling in pews, and occasional faintings and convulsions were evidences of the work of the Spirit in the services. Mr. Clark

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[160] Ibid., pp. 8, 20, 41.

was convinced that "when divine truth comes home with power to the mind, it may often happen that the person cannot refrain from sobbing or crying." It was his opinion that bodily excitements would occur to some degree "to accompany every instance of sound conversion".[161] Dr. Henderson, who did not find unseemly or unhealthy behaviour at revival services, believed that "such bodily excitement or agitation may or may not accompany the working of the Spirit."[162] Mr. Kerr went so far as to testify that on the night of 23 November, contrary to newspaper reports, "there was not a scream heard all the time. There was weeping, sobbing, and moaning, and much agitation often without any noise. I saw no appearance of fainting."[163] Revival supporters further claimed that W. C. Burns did not intentionally arouse and perpetuate emotional responses. Mr. Troup asserted that "Mr. Burns always told his audience that he wished them to be calm, that he had no objection to their weeping, if they were weeping for sin, and that he put no confidence in external manifestations."[164] These advocates of the revival movement also went on the offensive. They charged that the most disturbing noises to the mood of worship came from spectators. Testimony on both sides of the issue gave evidence of the fact that many persons come to the services out of curiosity. These persons, who usually sat in the gallery, came and went as they pleased irrespective of the starting time or closing of

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[161] Ibid., p. 12.

[162] Ibid., p. 29.

[163] Ibid., p. 52.

[164] Ibid., p. 40.

the services.[165] Those who came to observe rather than worship were accused of attending "for the purpose of mocking or scoffing." Mr. Clark declared that "the rude conduct of parties -- assembling after divine worship commenced -- perpetually moving up stairs and down stairs, rendered it necessary for me to stand at the door of the church to prevent the noise which would have occurred by opening and shutting the door; as also to use any authority I had to prevent disorder among those persons already referred to -- viz: comers and goers. I particularly observed the Editor of the "Herald" moving his position that night."[166] Clark also quoted several insults hurled at Burns from the gallery. Dr. Henderson, also an elder in Bonaccord Kirk, reported that on several occasions he personally escorted Burns to his lodging following services because of alleged threats, although there was never a sign of danger and Burns himself did not complain of hostilities directed toward him.[167]

Granting the fact that witnesses expressed differing points of view, the collected evidence does provide several interesting insights into the revival movement. It is apparent that the revival services

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[165] Ibid., pp. 7, 17, 20, 41. Mr. Bruce stayed three hours and left before the service was dismissed; Mr. Simpson entered the church at 9:10 P.M. and remained "a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes"; Mr. Watson went into the church a little after 9:00 P.M. and stayed "ten or fifteen minutes"; Mr. Duncan was present at a service for between thirty and forty-five minutes.

[166] Ibid., p. 13.

[167] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 187. Neither quotations from Burns' Journal nor comments by the biographer give much notice of the opposition. Perhaps the most notable comes from the Journal entry of 5th December, regarding Burns' early morning departure from Aberdeen. "'A number of my young friends had found out the time of my departure, and stood by on the pavement in tears. The mockery of many around [at approximately 6:30 A.M.!] made our tongues silent: we looked at each other, with Jesus in our hearts' eye I hope, and wept.'"

no longer followed the traditional order of worship except on Sabbath morning and evening. The week-night services followed no set order. Praise, prayers, sermons and discourses, use of Scripture -- all occurred according to the spontaneity of W. C. Burns. The young evangelist conducted the week-night services from the precentor's desk where he was close to those in the front pews who were usually most affected. Everything that took place in the revival services was calculated to awaken and convert sinners. So extemporaneous were the sermons that opponents referred to them as "disjointed and unconnected". Prayer and praise were not only used as preparatory to the preaching but might also be interspersed during the discourse. Mr. Troup, for example, answered affirmatively when asked: "Do you mean that in the course of his discourse he frequently stops and prays for the Spirit?"[168] When and how the service was concluded was often dictated by the response of the worshippers. Many of the services were approximately two hours in length. However, there were occasions when the meetings continued much, much longer.[169]

Another interesting aspect of the revival at this point has to do with those who attended revival services other than those who were curious and those who disapproved. There is evidence that, at least during the last two months of Burns' ministry in Aberdeen, the revival services had developed a regular following. Although the meetings were held in a variety of places, many of the same persons were

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[168] Evidence on Revivals, op. cit., p. 39.

[169] Ibid., p. 43. The 23rd November service lasted at least four hours. Also, from Burns' Journal, dated 23rd October, the evangelist described a meeting in which the "'impression seemed so deep and genuine, that it continued the whole evening afterwards, and though I dismissed them three or four times, hardly any would go away, the greater part crying aloud at the mention of dispersing. Accordingly we remained until after eleven . . .'" I. Burns, Memoir, op. cit., p. 167.

regularly in attendance. Witnesses such as Mitchell, Laing, Henderson, and Ness spoke of personally attending many of the revival services and also offered examples of other persons who often went to hear Burns preach.[170] In summarizing the revival scenes at Aberdeen, Burns' biographer plainly stated that "the solemn impressions of eternal things renewed night after night, in crowded congregations composed in large measure of the same individuals".[171] Who were especially noted as composing the congregations at the revival services? Adam's article in the "Herald" pointed out that "the whole of the lower part of the church was pretty well filled, but there were not more than half a dozen of males present . . . Several pews were filled with well-dressed females, who may have belonged to the middle or even upper classes, but the great majority of the audience seemed to consist of factory girls, or girls of that station."[172] Other witnesses on both sides often made particular reference to factory workers and mill-girls. Congregations did seem to be dominated by women. In fact, when there were very many men present, Burns made note of that fact with particular satisfaction.[173] The witnesses in favour of the revival represented some who attended the services. They were church members, some of them serving as church officers, of respectable

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[170] Ibid., pp. 28, 33, 45, 47, 48. One of the questions by a Committee member to Mr. Adam used the phrase "the regular hearers of Mr. Burns," p. 7.

[171] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M. A., op. cit., p. 166.

[172] Evidence on Revivals, Appendix, p. ii.

[173] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 168-169. November 22 - "'. . . There could not be fewer than two thousand five hundred, a great number of whom were men . . . we continued till nine. I saw no men go away.'" (Underlining is Burns'.) November 23rd - "'. . . many, even gentlemen, remained rivetted to the spot . . .'".

stations in life. Like Mr. Troup, some in the revival congregations were church-goers who had never before viewed religion as they heard it expounded by Burns. But the over-all impression given by witnesses and by the evangelist was that the majority of persons in regular attendance at revival services were of lower social class who were not active in any kirk. Mr. Ness' personal observation was "that Mr. Burns has been eminently instrumental in drawing out the neglected part of the population, and getting them placed under a regular system of religious instruction."[174] Burns himself distinguished worshippers into two categories in addition to the spectators to whom he often applied the term "infidels". Following an evening service during October, the revivalist noted in his Journal: "'Many poor sinners lay weeping all the night on their knees in prayer, and some of the Lord's people present seemed to be filled with joy.'"[175] Indifferent church-goers and the non-churched; mainly of the lower classes; and the majority being women -- these were the characteristics of the main body of persons who attended the revival services, especially on week-nights. These were also the persons who were so emotionally and deeply affected. Those who became acquainted with the awakened and the converted transmitted their impressions to the committee. Repeatedly the initial impression which filled the inquirers with radical emotional feelings was an overwhelming sense of their conviction of sin. Mr. Troup credited "the instrumentality of Mr. Burns' preaching" to his awakening which began with "a great desire which I have to be

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[174] Evidence on Revivals, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

[175] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., p. 167.

delivered from the power of sin within me."[176] Words to the same effect were echoed consistently by the witnesses. Dr. Henderson had come to believe that "the conviction of sin in ordinary cases precedes a feeling of confidence in the love of God, but by a period so indefinite that no general rule can be laid down."[177] Elder Clark attempted to present the most concise statement of the affective content of the revival sermons. Referring to some of the mill-girls who had been awakened or converted, Clark stated:

> "They have told me that it was while Mr. Burns was stating the doctrine of complete depravity; of the impossibility of reconciling themselves to God; of the doctrine of Divine sovereignty as illustrated in the case of Saul of Tarsus, of the Jailer, of Zaccheus, of the Publican; at the same time directing them to behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world; of the duty and privilege of looking on Him whom they had pierced as applied to themselves; and of the encouragement which the Redeemer held out to such to come unto Him, from such passages as 'This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them,' that the effects to were produced."[178]

One other special aspect of the revival was revealed by witnesses examined by the Committee on Revivals. As previously noted, W. C. Burns along with some of the local ministers and elders were sensitive to the need for giving guidance and direction to the newly awakened. Burns himself spent many hours attending to individual needs and to inquirers' meetings. As the end of his stay in Aberdeen drew near he was anxious that the ministry to inquirers continue. Thus, he arranged to meet with certain persons from some of the churches to challenge them to accept the responsibility of instructing small groups

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[176] Evidence on Revivals, op. cit., p. 39.

[177] Ibid., p. 27.

[178] Ibid., p. 12.

of inquirers. A number of classes were formed. Of the nine laymen who testified in favour of the revival movement, six were teaching small classes -- Messrs. Leslie, Henderson, Ness, Laing, Mitchell, and Reid. For the most part, the instructors were not acquainted with their pupils prior to the revival movement. However, classes were not restricted to those who credited the revival services for their desire for instruction. For example, Mr. Reid, who taught a class of nineteen men in his home, acknowledged that only five or six had received deeper "impressions" from the preaching of Burns. Nevertheless, the classes were occasioned by the revival. And many of them were to a large majority filled with women and young girls who had been affected by the revival sermons. Most of the classes enrolled between fifteen and twenty persons, although Mr. Laing reported that one of his classes had "about thirty in number".[179] This feature, more than any other aspect, gave evidence of and hope for the lasting effectiveness of the revival movement in many people's lives. Much of the initial affect had been emotional concern and anxiety over sin. For many, therefore, this was the starting place of instruction. Several instructors made reference to the original concerns of the inquirers. Laing related the experiences of one individual who came to him showing "symptoms of great mental anguish on account of her former hypocrisy." She continued to be disturbed about her status for nearly six months until "she found comfort about the communion

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[179] Ibid., p. 44. While the other instructors referred to the teaching of one class each, Laing reported that he was guiding five classes -- two in his home, two at John Knox Kirk, and one on Sabbath morning at the Infant School -- made up almost entirely of different persons -- and Ness referred to three weekly classes under his leadership.

season."[180] Dr. Henderson described one girl who "sometimes could scarcely believe that God would have mercy on one who had been, and still was, so great a sinner." It was Mr. Mitchell who provided the committee some very summary verbal sketches of the members of his class. Repeatedly the disturbing conviction of sin was the dominant condition among the inquirers. Some examples are well worth noting.

> ". . . became alarmed with his [Burns'] appeals about not sparing us; it was the terror of God's not sparing us, by which she was alarmed and frightened . . . [she] hopes to be saved through Christ's blood.
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> ". . . it was the repetition of the words, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' that struck her most, and she began to pray the same words; she went home and prayed and sought repentance; felt unhappy afterwards, and continued to . . . has never yet felt, at least she does not know, that she has obtained pardon of her sins.
>
> ". . . felt herself to be a sinner, and desired to be rid of her sins . . . does not know that she has ever received any sense of her pardon of sins; it was the love of Christ, as held out by Mr. Burns, that most drew her.
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> ". . . felt very much convicted under that sermon; has felt very unhappy since . . . can't say she has ever got her burden removed yet; can't say that God has exercised her by any particular chastisement; had often been chastised by sickness to no effect; has no doubt that her present convictions were produced by Mr. Burns' sermon."[181]

Neither how these conditions were dealt with nor what was the content of the classes were brought out by the committee. The format of the classes differed with each instructor. Generally, they adopted one of two basic patterns: prayer and reading of Scripture, perhaps with some comments made about the reading; and catechising. Evidence is not available to reveal the long-term results of the classes. At the time of the investigation this important follow-up work was being

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[180] Ibid., p. 45.

[181] Ibid., pp. 46, 48.

faithfully employed. And it was a ministry being done to a large degree by laymen. High anticipation was held for the nurture and growth of those who had been aroused at revival services to inquire into the Christian faith. In mid-January, 1841, Robert Ness claimed that, since Mr. Burns' first visit to Aberdeen, he personally knew of fifty-six persons who had made personal professions and who had been faithful to their commitments. Ten days before the Committee presented its report to the presbytery, the convener received a short letter from Mr. Ness with the further report that "our classes have increased in number, so that, I am sure, one of them averages fifty, and other two forty each, in attendance."[182]

As previously noted, the Committee on Revivals sent letters of inquiry containing a list of specific questions to a number of persons whose names had been associated with the revival movement. From the answers returned no new or unusual information was added to the testimony received from witnesses in Aberdeen. In fact, there was remarkable similarity in the replies submitted from many different parishes from Tain to Jedburgh. All who replied confirmed that during some period in 1839 and/or 1840 a religious movement had occured that generally fit the committee's definition of revival. During those times, awakenings and conversions took place during regular occasions of public worship and week-night prayer meetings. Several specifically pointed out that no special meetings were held and none of the gatherings were called "revival services". In many cases W. C. Burns had participated in a portion of the movement. But awakenings had also happened during the preaching of the local minister and other guest preachers. No special notice was given to the revivals'

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[182] Ibid., p. 89.

effectiveness among the non-churched. More common were the references to awakenings among nominal Christians. The minister at Jedburgh, John Purves, described some of the results of the movement being "re-converting Christians".[183] The correspondents observed the presence of emotionalism as a natural accompaniment of the work of the Holy Spirit. None of the writers felt that external excitement was disturbing or even very prominent. Alexander Cummings' answer on the topic was representative of the other ministers as well. The minister of Dunbarney wrote: "I have not only heard such individuals scream, sob, and groan, but have seen them so convulsed in body as to need support from others; yet these manifestations of feeling have been comparatively rare; the most common indication in audiences, during the extensive effusion of the Holy Ghost, has been a thrilling solemnity, and a silent melting into tears. External displays of feeling have been generally discouraged."[184] The committee's questionnaire did not ask details about the counselling or instructing of inquirers. And none of the letters volunteered information about that aspect of the movement. One final topic which was noticeably mentioned by most of the ministers was the importance of prayer both prior to and during the revival movement. During the three years preceeding the movement in Kelso, the congregation had been steadily encouraged to regularly pray for their minister, for the conversion of sinners, and for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Thus, their pastor, Horatius Bonar, traced "the good that has been done here to the earnest supplications of a praying people."[185] His brother,

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[183] Ibid., p. 73.

[184] Ibid., p. 61.

[185] Ibid., p. 63.

Andrew A. Bonar of Collace, added that prayer was an equally strong characteristic among the participating preachers. He explained: "I know of no uncommon circumstances in the preaching or manifestations of any who were with me, except this -- the prayerfulness of the persons, and their decided, distinct, simple preaching of free salvation for sinners."[186] Letters also from Breadalbane, Jedburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Dunbarney confirmed the essential place of prayer. Awakenings and conversions had been common during prayer meetings as well as in public worship. Ministers from Tain and Blairgowrie further observed that the growth and increase of prayer meetings and family worship had been part of the results of the revival movement. Robert Macdonald claimed that in his parish at Blairgowrie "there are now, I believe, about thirty prayer meetings in the parish."[187] Like the witnesses in favour of the revival at Aberdeen, the written testimony collected by the committee affirmed a strong conviction that prayer and expectation, public worship and prayer meetings, the preaching of W. C. Burns and evangelical parish ministers had been instruments for periods of genuine revival in various communities between 1839 and 1841.

The final testimony collected by the Committee on Revivals was the verbal and written witness of W. C. Burns. In addition to appearing before the committee on 29th April, 1841, the revivalist answered several questions from the committee in writing and sent letters to the Convener, W. R. Pirie, on 1st May and 3rd May. At first his answers revealed a feeling of defensiveness regarding the opposition to the revival. However, the young licentiate did not

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[186] Ibid., p. 64.

[187] Ibid., p. 66.

become argumentative. Rather, he proceeded carefully to respond to each question by stating his personal opinions and convictions. There was little in his entire testimony that added new insight into the mind, the method, and the motivation of the evangelist. He defended his attitude regarding emotionalism by stating that such manifestations are to be expected in the work of the Spirit. However, he stated that such was not necessary in every awakening and that some signs of emotion occasionally occurred to persons who did not have a genuine awakening. Burns emphasised that the work of the Holy Spirit was a long process operative before, during and after the revival season. Thus the true results would only be revealed with the passing of time. Nevertheless, this did not mean that a revival could not be distinguished when it took place. During his spoken testimony, he declared: ". . . while it is extremely difficult to judge of an individual case, until time has shown what the permanent fruits will be, yet that it is possible for a minister sufficiently qualified, and especially if he has had experience of such cases before, to conclude that God's Spirit is poured out even during the progress of the work."[188]

Having laboured for five months since its 8th December appointment, the Committee on Revivals presented its written records to the Presbytery on 3rd May, 1841, for printing and distribution. The Presbytery then ordered a special meeting for 11th May, 1841, to consider the subject of revivals. At that meeting four resolutions were presented.[189] So important was the subject to many that a vote was taken by roll call. Although the exact tally was not recorded, the

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[188] Ibid., p. 83.

[189] See Appendix F.

minutes declared that the resolutions were adopted "by a large majority."[190] During the Presbytery meeting on the following day, Mr. Murray presented an overture calling for the appointment of evangelists in the Church. It was moved and seconded that the overture be adopted. Then, according to the records, another motion was made and seconded to reject the overture followed by a third motion "that the consideration of said overture be delayed in the meantime."[191] The third motion carried. And no further evidence exists in the presbytery minutes of the tabled overture ever being taken up at any subsequent meeting. Thus ended the only thorough investigation of the 1839-41 revival movement in Scotland by an judicatory of Presbyterianism. The result was a very favourable declaration of the validity of the movement, qualified gratitude for the particular leadership of "Mr. W. C. Burns, Preacher of the Gospel", and a call for further employment of all the means "to promote the cause of vital religion which needs so much to be revived among us."

Inspite of the positive results of the revival in Aberdeen, the movement was over. W. C. Burns continued to labour as an unofficial evangelist and, occasionally, as a temporary supply preacher.[192] However, the calls for his services began to take him beyond the bounds

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[190] Records of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, op. cit., p. 246.

[191] Ibid., p. 248.

[192] I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., op. cit., pp. 227-237. In early autumn of 1841, W. C. Burns preached in Newcastle and in several other places in northern England. During the winter of 1841-42 he was temporary supply preacher at St. Luke's Church, Edinburgh. Also during that period he made two evangelistic tours in the area of Perth, Dundee and Fife. In August and September, 1842, two tours were made to the Highlands of Perthshire.

of the Church of Scotland.[193] In 1847 he accepted a call to his original vision for his ministry. On 10th April of that year, the licentiate evangelist was ordained by the Presbytery of Newcastle to become the first missionary of the Presbyterian Church in England. The Reverend William C. Burns left his homeland on 9th June, 1847, and sailed for China where he served until his death, 4th April, 1868, at Port of Nieu-chwang. The epitaph on his grave in China makes no mention of his evangelistic ministry in Scotland.[194]

The movement which began as a parish revival in 1839 and expanded to be an evangelistic ministry by W. C. Burns and certain parish pastors came to a close during 1841. The primary focus of attention throughout the Church of Scotland was directed toward ecclesiastical organization and reconstruction. Thus the study of revivals in the first half of the nineteenth century comes to a definite close with the historical events leading to the Disruption. The principal figure in the revival movement of 1839-1841 recognized the signs of the times. W. C. Burns attended the General Assembly of 1843 in Edinburgh. Following the opening sermon of the Assembly, Burns walked between his father and his uncle in the long procession from St. Andrew's Church to the Free Assembly Hall, Canonmills. Islay Burns' commentary upon that event is concurrently an epilogue to the

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[193] Ibid., pp. 243-288. In the Spring of 1844, Burns went to Dublin for several preaching engagements. Later that year he travelled to Canada where he laboured until September 15, 1846.

[194] Ibid., p. 540. To the Memory of the
Rev. William C. Burns, A.M.,
Missionary to the Chinese,
from the Presbyterian Church in England.
Born at Dun, Scotland, April 1st, 1815.
Arrived in China, November 1847.
Died at Port of Nieu-chwang,
4th April, 1868.
II Corinthians, Chap. v.

revival movement of 1839-41.

> ". . . the auspicious season for such work [revivals] had in a great measure, at least for the present, passed. It was a time not so much for the awakening of life, as for the life already awakened -- a birth-time rather for the collective church than for individual souls."[195]

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[195] Ibid., p. 242.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THEOLOGY RELATED TO THE REVIVALS IN SCOTLAND, 1796 - 1843

Having examined the subject of public worship and researched certain revivals during the period 1796 - 1843, the final chapter of this study incorporates this material under the discipline of Practical Theology. To do so, the content is examined under three headings: the context for the revivals, the theology of revival, and the theology in the revivals.

I. THE CONTEXT FOR THE REVIVALS

At the commencement of the period of this study a movement of revivals occurred primarily in a number of Highland parishes. The leaders in that movement were lay-preachers who formed the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. At the conclusion of the period a revival movement took place in many Scottish parishes under the leadership of an un-ordained preacher. But for those ironic exceptions, the revivals of religion in Presbyterianism in Scotland between 1796 and 1843 happened within the setting of local parishes, under the leadership of local ministers, and within the context of traditional public worship.

Although the parishes where revivals originated were not related geographically to one another, they did contain certain similar features. None of the parishes were located in large cities. They were not closely in touch with communities which could be relatively identified as the centers of culture and education. Being mainly

rurally oriented, the populations of the revival parishes primarily consisted of labouring class persons. In addition to the labouring class, converts were frequently noted as being youth and even children. "Wherever a revival of religion has taken place," testified Robert Haldane in 1800, "it has been generally observed, that young people formed a considerable proportion of those brought under its influence."[1] It followed that another common feature within revival parishes was a concern for education and religious instruction. This characteristic was consistent with an overall trend during the Evangelical movement of that period. Already noted has been the efforts made by the SPGH in establishing schools, especially Sabbath schools. Another revival minister who made an outstanding contribution to education was Alexander Stewart of Moulin. A Gaelic scholar who wrote a well-known textbook for teaching Gaelic grammar, Stewart also collaborated with two other ministers to publish the entire Bible in Gaelic in 1802.[2] Within five years, 25,000 copies of this Gaelic translation were printed and distributed by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Still another noteworthy feature of revival parishes were the prayer meetings that have been noted in the previous chapters. These small groups which met in the kirk or in homes provided a vital means of preparation for revival, and a resource for counseling and nurturing new converts. "Through the medium of the fellowship meetings and the praying societies, they provided schools of devotional training

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[1]Robert Haldane, Address to the Public, Concerning Political Opinions, and Plans Lately Adopted to Promote Religion in Scotland, p. 89.

[2]Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, p. 18. This source also contains further information about the development of literature and education in the Highlands during the Evangelical ascendancy of the early nineteenth century.

for their people, and opportunities of spiritual leadership for the elders and other devout laymen. Through these meetings, the Bible became a familiar and beloved book to multitudes who could not read a line in any tongue."[3] During a revival and immediately following, it was common for there to be an increase in the number of groups holding weekly meetings within the parish. Such societies for prayer and fellowship were an important force, especially in evangelical churches, for advocating revival at home and missionaries to proclaim the gospel abroad. Their strategic role in parish ministries became well-recognized between 1796 and 1843.[4]

Central to the context for the revivals was the parish minister. He was the evangelist of his own parish. He guided the activities and emphasised the theological themes that became the preparatory setting for revival. With the exception of the Revival at Skye, the local pastor was the chief agent of the actual revival. Even during the periods of evangelistic itinerancies by the preachers of the SPGH and by W. C. Burns, the local pastors were the continuing source of perpetuating the movement and ministering to the awakened. The primary sources communicate a sincere and an indefatigable devotion as characteristic of these pastors. In fact, there were few other distinguishing features within the personalities and the pastoral talents of these men to set them apart from other ministers. They were identified as Evangelical. But so were many other ministers who did not become agents of a prominent revival. They were not noted

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[3]John MacInnes, The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688 to 1800, p. 166.

[4]Alexander Pringle, Prayer for the Revival of Religion in all the Protestant Churches, and for the Spread of the Gospel Among Heathen Nations, Recommended, p. 4.

beyond their parish bounds as being among the outstanding preachers of their time. Many other contemporaries were more widely known for their pulpit talents. They were not among the leaders of the Evangelical party. Similarly, many of the Evangelical leaders, such as Andrew Thomson and Thomas Chalmers, had no personal involvement with the revivals. It should further be noted that these ministers of a parish revival were not agents of any other similar movement in other parishes where they served as the resident pastor. Thus, in one respective parish, during one portion of each one's entire ministry, and not because of any obviously unique qualities possessed by any or all of them, a few ministers became instrumental in certain historical revivals in Scotland.

The place of traditional public worship was the other main element in the context of the revivals of religion in Scotland during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In the previous chapters it has been repeatedly revealed that the acts of public worship, both on Sabbaths and on week-days, were ordered according to traditional, common practice. Individual stirrings for change and innovation did not originate from the revival parishes. What variations did occur in those kirks only made preaching more central, especially in many week-day services during a revival. The churches in which a revival happened exemplified the belief commonly held in Scotland that "preaching was necessarily the principal means by which the world was converted, and the primitive Church was established."[5] Evangelical preachers, with their primary emphasis upon personal salvation, sought to enlighten with doctrine and to elicit personal responses by means of lectures and sermons. They were taught, for example, that "every

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[5]John Dick, Lectures on Theology, Vol. IV, p. 106.

speech hath, or ought to have, for its professed aim, either to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to move the passions, or to influence the will."[6] Emerging from the age of Moderatism, known for its carefully written and read sermon-manuscripts, and during a period when some Moderates and Evangelicals read their sermons, the most common method of preaching during times of revival was extemporaneous. Often prayer was offered in the same manner. The pressure of frequent services and the extemporaneous preaching and praying sometimes resulted in a more flexible ordering of worship. For example, during the latter days of the revival at Moulin, the week-day services followed no set order. Also, many of the services conducted by W. C. Burns were spontaneously ordered depending upon the responses of the worshippers or the feelings of the preacher. Burns honestly confessed that such extemporaneous speaking and praying and such impromptu ordering of the services resulted in times of depression as well as times of stimulation.

The relationship of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the various revivals of this period cannot be stated in a generalisation. MacInnes attempted just such a sweeping commentary relative to the Highlands when he wrote: "From that date [1688] until the time of the great Highland revivals in the middle of the last century [19th Century], the sacramental assembly and the parochial fellowship meeting were the supreme evangelizing agencies; and to one or other of them we can trace all or most of the awakenings and revivals which

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[6]George Campbell, Lectures on Systematic Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, p. 350. Professor Campbell taught Divinity at Marischall College, Aberdeen, for over 30 years during the final third of the eighteenth century.

have quickened the spiritual life of the people."[7] Yet, within the revivals selected for this study, the sacramental seasons in the Highlands were not "supreme evangelizing agencies." The Sacrament provided no primary channel for revival at Arran and Skye, and it was not a factor in the services conducted in Presbyterian churches by the SPGH. At Moulin several specific sacramental occasions each had a particular affect related to the revival. It was during the revival period from 1839 to 1841 that the Lord's Supper was a significant occasion to the movement. The Revival at Kilsyth began during the sacramental season of 1839. In September of that same year an extra Communion season was held by the authority of the Session and because of the awakening. That September occasion with its expanded services became the climactic event of the revival in the parish of Kilsyth. As the movement spread to Dundee, the dispensing of the Lord's Supper continued periodically to be a prominent feature of revival. So important was the Sacrament to the movement that quarterly Communion services were scheduled at Dundee to stimulate the revival. More frequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper also were occurring in other kirks, although not always without opposition. When St. Leonard's Church, Perth, which was a center of the spread of revival to that city, resolved to have Communion four times annually, the Presbytery objected.[8] Therefore, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was variously regarded during this period. Likewise its place in times of revival varied from being of no significance to being a central agent.

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[7]MacInnes, op. cit., p. 155.

[8]Horatius Bonar, Life of the Rev. John Milne of Perth, pp. 26-27.

Upon the basis of these elements in the context for the revivals, it has been observed that there was much variety within the revival parishes, within the leadership of the movements, and within the acts of public worship and the relationship of the Lord's Supper. Hence, it must be concluded that, except for the three general areas which formed the context for the revivals, there were not unique, uniform features -- human or ecclesiastical -- distinguishable from non-revival parishes that can be attributed to bringing about an awakening. Under the general areas of the context for the revivals, there was not discovered a common, detailed pattern within which revival happened.

II. THE THEOLOGY OF REVIVAL

There was no formulated theology of Revival in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The very word "revival" was relatively new to the religious vocabulary of Scottish Presbyterians. From his survey on the subject, W. J. Couper has concluded that the word "revival" did not come into common usage to describe religious awakenings until the second half of the eighteenth century.[9] There were only a few examples in Scottish history referred to as revivals. Those most widely known during the eighteenth century were the preaching tours of George Whitefield and the 1742 events at Cambuslang and Kilsyth. While these were historic happenings, little effort had been made by the Church to arrive at a theology of revival.

Even though several revivals occurred during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Church had her attention focused upon other concerns. Hence, very few observations were made and no studies conducted by the Church to arrive at a statement of belief about

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[9]W. J. Couper, Scottish Revivals, p. 3.

revivals. It was the noteable Revival at Kilsyth and the related movement that caused stirrings in Presbyterianism on the subject. As a result, there was a variety of studies, sermons, and lectures printed on the subject of Revival. Those reflected -- unofficially -- the beginnings of a Theology of Revival.

In general, those directly involved in such movements did not attempt to define the word "revival." Along with other observers, they were more inclined to give accounts of what happened and report the progress of the happenings. One exception to this was W. H. Burns. In 1840, when the Pastor of Kilsyth wrote the treatise, "Mode of Conducting a Revival -- Errors and Evils to be Avoided," he offered the following definition: "A revival of religion is an unusually successful dispensation of religious ordinances, the effect of a copious effusion of the influences of divine grace; but in other respects it comes under the same rules with the more ordinary dispensation, where the effects of the word of grace are less obvious and prominent."[10] Other spokesmen on the subject similarly declared that revival was not only a movement for conversions but equally an awakening and an enriching of life within the congregation. In a sermon to his congregation in 1841, Ralph Wardlaw emphasised that revival was characterised by new life within the people of God. He proclaimed that revival "is not, properly, the quickening of the dead; but the resuscitation of life, of which the energies are impaired and dormant . . . Properly speaking, revival is in the believer, and in the church. The conversion of sinners should be regarded rather as one of its results."[11] This theme also was propounded by John Brown when

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[10]Islay Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, p. 222.

[11]Ralph Wardlaw, The Revival of Religion, p. 8.

he addressed the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh on 19 November, 1839. Referring to "the Revival of Religion" as a "figurative phrase," he maintained that "a Revival of Religion takes place, when from there being few religious men, there comes to be many; and when the religious men already existing become more religious; the sphere of the operation of religion becoming thus more extensive, and the influence of religion within that sphere at the same time becoming more intense."[12] A final example of the propounded nature of revival is the following excerpt from a lecture by the Reverend William B. Sprague:

> "The term [revival] is intended to be implied in a general sense, to denote the improved religious state of a congregation, or of some other community. And it is, moreover, applicible, in a strict sense, to the condition of Christians, who, at such a season, are in a greater or less degree revived, and whose increased zeal is usually rendered instrumental of the conversion of sinners. Wherever, then, you see religion rising up from a state of comparative depression to a tone of increased vigour and strength -- wherever you see professing Christians becoming more faithful to their obligations, and behold the strength of the church increased by fresh accessions of piety from the world, there is a state of things which you need not hesitate to denominate a revival of religion."[13]

These observations from participants and observers of the revivals of the early nineteenth century viewed the nature of revival to be a season of new life which unusually increased the commitment of those in the church and which brought about the conversion of many who had been outside a congregation. The media of this outpouring of grace was the ordinary services of worship and fellowship, although such activities might become more frequent and more intense. There

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[12]John Brown, On the Means and Manifestations of a Genuine Revival of Religion, p. 11.

[13]William B. Sprague, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, p. 4.

was no distinction made between revivalism and evangelism.[14] The term "revival" was used more frequently with the word "evangelist" being increasingly employed to describe the principal preacher of a movement. This being the general nature of revivals, what were the common features in the process of a season of new life?

There was the period of preparation. In some cases, such as the Revival on the Isle of Skye, the events prior to the revival were not purposely aimed at motivating an evangelistic movement. How those events led to a revival was discerned after the fact. However, in three accounts of revivals, there was the common characteristic of expectation within the preparation period. At Moulin, the pastor's public confession of his personal spiritual struggle created an atmosphere of anticipation in the parish. On the Isle of Arran there had been a preparation year of intense religious activities aimed at a reformation to righteous living. At Kilsyth the expectation of revival was consciously fostered. The longing of W. H. Burns for an awakening, the constant reminders that the 1742 revival was a cherished part of the parish's heritage, the weekly prayer meetings, the special events which emphasised the subject, and the service commemorating the pastor of the 1742 movement -- these steadily built feelings of strong anticipation within the congregation. And this continued to be a feature of the movement. At Dundee, excerpts from the account of the Revival of 1742 were read to the congregation to stimulate further anticipation. The reputation of W. C. Burns

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[14] T. B. Kilpatrick, New Testament Evangelism, pp. 79-101, 103-115. Writing in 1911, Kilpatrick distinguished evangelism and revivalism by labeling the former as "cause" and the latter as "effect". In the context of nineteenth century Scottish ecclesiastical history, he advocated that the evangelicalism led by Thomas Chalmers was a more effective force in the church and the nation than the "religious excitement created by the revivals of religion."

preceeded him on his tours so that people came with expectation to hear him preach. The importance of this feature in the preparation for revival was easily perceived. James Douglas of Cavers noted in 1839 that "the first step is to expect a revival; the second, is never to expect its close."[15] Further developing that theme, he suggested that the three steps toward revival were to "feel our wants . . . expect great things . . . wait until we obtain."[16] The importance of anticipation was confirmed by John Milne. During his participation in the movement of 1839 - 41, the pastor of Perth wrote in his note-book:

> "But let us seek directness of aim; expect conversions, even when not aware that the Spirit is at work, in the way of prayerfulness and inquiry. In revival times there is expectation of being heard; earnestness and determination of mind commensurate . . . now (in revival times) there is a fervour kindled by a distinct grasp of its object as present and immediately attainable. The hearer now comes expecting that we shall call him to repent immediately and turn to God; conversion is in the mind both of preacher and hearer."[17]

John Brown testified that in 1839 "the signs of the times are beyond precedent calculated to excite expectation."[18] For the most part, this strategic factor in the evolvement of revival was not developed by innovations. In fact, the Reverend Balmer of Berwick advocated that "a religious revival is to be expected, not by the employment of new measures, or unwonted expedients, but by the more diligent use of

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[15] James Douglas, The Revival of Religion, p. 25.

[16] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[17] Bonar, op. cit., p. 22.

[18] Brown, op. cit., p. 38.

the ordinary means of grace, particularly of the word and prayer."[19] The period of preparation, including in particular an atmosphere of expectation, was the initial step in the process of a revival.

Another common feature of the revivals was that there was a definite beginning and ending to a movement. Since this factor has been part of the accounts of the revivals in this study, nothing further needs to be expanded on this point. No matter how gradual its coming, each revival was attributed as having a beginning date. Similarly, another date was usually recognized as the closing of the revival, even though the follow-up ministry might continue for some time.

A third category in the process of a revival was the central services of the movement. These were the preaching at worship services, the prayer meetings, and the follow-up counseling of persons effected. The centrality of preaching in worship and in revival services has been repeatedly noted in this study. Lectures and sermons, which were extemporaneous discourses upon a Biblical text or theme, were delivered and heard with the attitude that God was speaking a personal message by that means. Prayer seemed to gain a position of similar effectiveness, especially in the Kilsyth movement. In his treatise on conducting a revival, W. H. Burns devoted much attention to the importance of prayer. He claimed that it was "an important and encouraging fact in the history of the revivals with which we are best acquainted, that the moving spring of them all has been prayer, -- believing, earnest, united."[20] Among the revivals

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[19] R. Balmer, Address to Elders on the Means to be Used by Them for Promoting a Revival of Religion, p. 10.

[20] W. H. Burns, op. cit., p. 226.

in Scottish history which illustrated that claim, according to Burns, were Moulin, Skye, and Arran. It can be clearly seen from the account of the 1839 - 41 movement that W. C. Burns personally relied upon the power of prayer and that he frequently employed prayer as a means of conveying the evangelistic message. As services became more spontaneously ordered, the evangelist was likely to turn to prayer at any moment of the worship, including in the midst of a discourse. During prayer as well as preaching, worshippers were moved to respond to the message. Alexander MacRae noted the effectiveness of prayer by Reverend Dugald Campbell's observation of services conducted by W. C. Burns: "'. . . but it was chiefly during prayer that the results which fell under our observation took place.'"[21] Not only was prayer in public worship a central feature in revivals, but so were prayer meetings. These gatherings in homes and kirks were both a means of and a result from revival. The fellowship meetings were for those committed to the faith and for those inquiring; for those who wanted to study and for those who needed counseling; for those who were faithful to the kirk and for those who were not in the habit of attending public worship. There were prayer meetings for all ages. Andrew Bonar noted that "among the children, too, there were prayer-meetings; and one who remembers those days [at Arran] tells how these young people might be met with coming from or going to their place of meeting, singing the praises of God by the way."[22] Prayer meetings were not only led by ministers but also by laymen. The other common means by which inquirers were counseled were at post-worship services

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[21]Alexander MacRae, Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the 19th Century, p. 142.

[22]Andrew A. Bonar, Thirty Years of Spiritual Life in the Island of Arran, p. 7.

and by private interviews, usually with the minister. The importance of counseling emerged from the concept of "awakened sinners." Revival services were used by the power of God to awaken people to their depraved nature and its potential consequences. The follow-up ministry was for the purpose of guiding the awakened sinner to the estate of salvation. Hence, cautioned Sprague, "a large part of the conduct of a revival consists in COUNSELING THE AWAKENED: and on the manner in which this duty is performed, as much as anything, depend both the character of the work and its results."[23] Because of the critical place of counseling, the leadership of the local minister in this work was essential. For the ultimate evaluation of a revival rested upon the long-range results in the manner of life followed by those who appeared to be awakened during the season of revival.

The belief regarding awakened sinners and the corresponding necessity for further guidance helped temper the importance given to emotionalism as a feature in the process of a revival. "Religious excitement" was common in the revivals of the early nineteenth century. From the "silent tears" at Moulin to the convulsions and outcries at Kilsyth, emotionalism was vividly manifest. The descriptions and evaluations of this feature were relative to the attitudes toward revivalism in general. Ministers who participated in revivals did not feel that their pulpit conduct was aimed at stirring people's emotions. During the 1839 - 41 movement, Dugald Campbell reported a personal experience while preaching at Grandtully. "'I was myself offering Christ to them from the Song of Solomon, third chapter, eleventh verse. There was not one word of terror in my sermon, and yet I saw three fainting; and I can never forget the feelings of my

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[23]Sprague, op. cit., p. 81.

soul on that evening when, owing to the voice of lamentation that filled the church, I was obliged to stand for some time without saying a word in the pulpit.'"[24] Observers who questioned the validity of a revival often were convinced that the preaching mannerisms purposely preyed upon the feelings of the people. Revival leaders, such as W. C. Burns did not believe that all who were religiously excited were necessarily converted. At the same time, the presence or lack of presence of emotionalism was often the criteria by which a preacher measured the fruitfulness of a revival service. Perhaps those who advocated revival but who did not participate in leading such a movement contributed the most constructive thinking. Recognizing that a revival would arouse alarming anxieties among the "careless" and stimulate new zeal and devotion in the congregation, Sprague suggested that great excitement was not necessary to the movement. "There may be a true revival where all is calm and noiseless; and multitudes of hearts may be broken in contrition, and yielded up to God, which have never been agitated by any violent, much less convulsive emotions, nor even breathed forth a single sob, unless in the silence of the closet, and into the ear of mercy."[25] An anonymous minister who published a paper regarding psychological aspects of religious revivals pointed out the variety of emotional temperaments in mankind. He contended that a proper balance between the individual's powers of intellect and emotions was a fruitful goal.

> "Thus, in religion, the emotions of grief, resentment, hatred, are to give birth to settled determination against sin, and, that attained, to be gradually less poignant; the emotions of admiration, gratitude, love, are to originate devotedness to

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[24] MacRae, op. cit., p. 144.

[25] Sprague, op. cit., p. 7.

> God, His Son, His worship, and cause, and in these to find their rest; the emotion of joy is to endear to us reconciliation to God, and having gained this objective, to settle down in a surrender of the entire confidence of the spirit magnifying its Saviour and King."[26]

While not many analysed the subject in this way, most of the revival leaders laboured and counseled for the goal of people who were surrendered, devoted, and determined to live as Christians. In striving toward that goal, many did not or else did not know how to keep emotionalism from reaching, at times, extreme manifestations. While it may be true that "any plan of revival, therefore, which would dictate one mode of conversion for all, must be injurious,"[27] it was equally true that no control over the emotionalism of a revival might be just as injurious.[28] Emotionalism was very present in the process of revival. It was a focal point for differing viewpoints that were being heard in moving toward a theology of revival.

The revivals of the first four decades of the nineteenth century raised a question for a theology of revival to answer. Should the Church-at-large have a position for an evangelist? The reaction against lay-preachers of the S.P.G.H. may not have fostered such a proposal, but the tours of a licentiate preacher between 1839 - 41 did.

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[26]A Scottish Minister, A Preliminary Essay on the Psychology of Religious Revivals, pp. xx-xxi.

[27]Ibid., p. xi.

[28]Evidence on Revivals, Appendix, p. xii. Included in the evidence collected by the Committee on Revivals of the Presbytery of Aberdeen was an extract from the thirteenth Annual Report of the Directors and Physician of James Murray's Royal Asylum for Lunatics at Perth. Referring to the revival movement at Perth, the extract reported "that at least the more immediately exciting cause of the derangement of three patients brought to the Asylum was some forcible and alarming appeals to which they had listened under the ministry of a certain preacher. The three patients alluded to were all melancholic, all deeply impressed with the enormity of their sins, and two of them suicidal."

It has been noted that W. C. Burns came to consider himself as doing the work of an evangelist. In discerning between an awakening and a conversion, Burns viewed the function of an evangelist to awaken sinners while the vocation of the pastor was to nurture and guide the awakened to a firm conversion. Robert M. M'Cheyne also made known that he himself considered the possibility of becoming a full-time evangelist in the Church. The office of evangelist was not officially proposed to the Church during the revival period. The lives of two young, influencial preachers simply raised the question. Perhaps it was an initial step toward a future reality.

Prior to the Disruption, the effect of certain revivals in Scotland was that the Church was beginning to discuss the subject. What is the nature of revival? What are the valid elements in the process of conducting a revival? Is there need for an evangelist for the Church? These subjects of a theology of revival were widely discussed and investigated by individuals and within certain presbyteries. However, no conclusions were officially reached. And the possibilities of the Church's further progress in that area was disrupted in 1843.

III. THE THEOLOGY IN THE REVIVALS

The period from 1796 to 1843 in Scottish Presbyterianism is not remembered for its theological contributions. Early in this study it was noted that it was not a time of great theological activity. Out of the Moderate Party, which devoted little attention to theology, came the theological treatise that was most widely accepted in the Church. Lectures in Divinity by Principal George Hill became a well-used textbook on theology in Scotland for three generations. Although

he did not personally admire Hill, Thomas Chalmers used the book in his classes at Edinburgh and was quoted as admitting: "'I am not sure if I can recommend a more complete manual.'"[29] Principal Hill was a Moderate and a Calvinist. The common acceptance of his work was evidence of the fact that the majority of Moderates and nearly all Evangelicals held the Calvinism of the Westminster Standards[30] as affected by Federal Theology.[31] There was relatively no more activity in theology in the Evangelical Party. They were dogmatists and practical theologians rather than students of divinity. Speaking particularly of Chalmers, George Henderson pointed out that the Evangelical leader "had little interest in technical divinity, his bent being practical rather than speculative, and he remained well within the reach of listeners carefully drilled in the Shorter Catechism."[32] The two most significant contributions to theological thought during the period were those of Thomas Erskine and McLeod Campbell. Both challenged certain areas of the Calvinism that had been inherited from the previous century. And, in both cases, Moderates and Evangelicals showed their readiness to defend that theological heritage.[33]

With such a minimum of theological interest, study, or controversy, systematic doctrine was seldom discussed in detail. This lack

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[29]Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707 - 1929, p. 136.

[30]Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. XIV, p. 202.

[31]For an excellent study of the rise of Federal Theology, read "Theological Background of Worship in Seventeenth Century Scotland" by James B. Torrance, a paper originally delivered in 1969 to the General Assembly Commission on Reformed Worship in the Church of Scotland.

[32]George D. Henderson, The Burning Bush, p. 201.

[33]See, Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688 - 1843, pp. 194-219.

of attention to that discipline resulted in a lack of precise language and systematic thought. Consumed by the activities of the revival, the respective leaders and preachers of those movements did not enter into theological debate nor even into the dialogue about the nature of revivalism. While there is evidence that they studied various published works and carried on much personal correspondence, their own writings that have been preserved only furnish fragments and samplings of their theology. It is difficult, therefore, to compile a system of divinity preached and taught in the revivals. In his biography of John Milne, Horatius Bonar claimed that the "truths preached were 'old and plain.' It was the divine power which went along with them that made them tell."[34] What were the main "truths' proclaimed?

The message from revival pulpits was a very personal gospel. Following the content of rigid, scholastic Calvinism, a main point in each message was an emphasis upon each person's guilt as a sinner. The goal of the evangelical sermon was the personal salvation of the worshipper. An essential means to that end was to initially awaken within the hearer a personal conviction of sin and to vividly describe the prospects of death and judgement for the unforgiven. The total depravity of each individual, the potential visitation of God's wrath, and the helplessness of the person to save himself were contained in a single point in the typical revival message. The basic assumption of this ever-present view was that a person must be brought under the conviction of sin in-order-to be saved. No matter what the Biblical text, the doctrine of inherent sin and of personal guilt for that sin was a primary point of emphasis to the sermon. It was such a

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[34]H. Bonar, op. cit., p. 70.

natural part of the theology that W. C. Burns considered it his duty to proclaim it whether he felt like it or not. Upon one occasion, he reported on a sermon he preached using the text of Job 33:23, 24 by confessing that "at first, especially when I should have spoken of the Lord's terrors from the words 'going down to the pit,' I was much deserted, and was forced to be both bare and brief."[35] The letters of John Love also furnish much evidence of the belief in the need to arouse in people the conviction of sin. Love noted that there were two types of conviction. One was given out at the judgement, when it was too late to avoid the consequences; and the other was the conviction given "to those who shall be saved in the day of the Lord."[36] It was imperative that the preacher be the instrument of the latter type of conviction. Excerpts from two of Love's other letters provide samples of the urgency and intensity with which the conviction of sin was invoked.

> "I speak the truth, when I say that you daily deserve everlasting wrath from on high, in all your shifts and endeavours to keep back your heart from the Lord Jesus, and to retain with quietness and comfort those things against which he hath proclaimed endless war. . . . Remember this, that nothing but the blood of the Son of God can buy back your soul and body from the eternal flame of the wrath of God, and that you can have no interest in that blood, till there is in you a heart broken for sin and from sin."[37]

Total depravity, personal guilt, pending judgement -- these were the ingredients of the doctrine of sin adamantly proclaimed to each revival congregation.

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[35] Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., p. 123.

[36] Peter M'Bride (ed.), Letters of the Late John Love, D.D., p. 501.

[37] Ibid., pp. 506, 507.

The covenant of grace was another part of the theology in the revivals. Sinners were invited and urged to flee from the wrath to come by embracing the grace of Jesus Christ. With great pathos, revival preachers described the atoning work of the Saviour. In the most solemn manner, each person was told that his sin had nailed Christ to the cross. Whosoever desired forgiveness was told to turn to Jesus. Immediate salvation would be given by Christ. The covenant of grace was proclaimed to be freely offered. H. Bonar summarized the doctrine of salvation by grace in these words:

> "He [God] promises that whosoever consents to be indebted to this Saviour for life shall have it [salvation] on the spot. . . . It was with this free gospel that the men of '39, '40, and '41, went forth to do the work of the ministry. It was with this weapon that they assailed the rebellious heart; not parleying with the conscience, but laying hold of it; not giving place, even for a moment, to the sinner's excuses or reasons for delay, but urging him with the divine demand and claim; calling on him, at the peril of aggravated and augmenting guilt, to receive at once the great salvation."[38]

The covenant provided by the Saviour demanded a response by each person who accepted it. While the evangelicals denied a covenant of works, they placed much emphasis upon what an awakened person must do. It was not always clear in the theology proclaimed in the revivals whether sinners were directed to repent in-order-to receive forgiveness or whether they were invited to receive forgiveness from Christ that would lead to repentance. The fluctuation between a covenant of grace and conditional grace was not new to the Calvinism of that time, and therefore, it was readily received. Worshippers at revivals were anxious to know what they could do to be saved. There was often more exhortation to repentance, faith, and obedience on man's part than

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[38]H. Bonar, op. cit., p. 72.

proclamation of what God had already done for man and of what Jesus was presently doing for him. A clear example of this focus on man's responsibility was seen in the list of sermon texts upon fundamental doctrines preached by Alexander Stewart at Moulin.[39] The texts revealed Stewart's own struggle between free grace and conditional grace -- a struggle that was not Stewart's alone. The manner of administering the Lord's Supper was further evidence of the importance placed upon man's responsibility. Prospective communicants were warned to examine themselves even if they already had been catechised. The fencing of the tables and the Communion tokens were visible reminders that the feast of grace was for those who already were penitent and faithful. Stewart, in fact, considered a decrease in the number partaking of the Sacrament in June 1798, to be a satisfying result of his series of preparatory sermons.[40] Hence, connected to the doctrine of grace was a double emphasis upon the sufficiency of Christ's righteousness and the imperative responses of those being saved.

The other doctrine central to the theology communicated in the revivals was limited atonement. Christ's Passion and death on the Cross was for the salvation of the elect. In the famous sermon by W. C. Burns, delivered at Kilsyth 23rd July, 1839, the first section of that discourse emphasised that the people who willingly serve God are His elect.[41] At Moulin, Stewart frequently called attention to the division of mankind being between the children of God and the children of the devil. Along with this teaching was the conviction

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[39]See, pp. 237-238, footnote #30.

[40]See, pp. 239-240.

[41]See, pp. 335-336.

that there was no assurance of salvation in the essence of faith. Life was a probationary period. Thus, those who were convicted of sin did not quickly find peace or joy. In his treatise on revivals, W. H. Burns listed as the first error to be avoided the temptation to too readily accept an inquirer's conversion. He advocated that "strict discipline among our reputed converts, and in our members generally, must be exercised."[42] Hence, even within the doctrine of election by a sovereign God there was included a stress upon the responsibility of those awakened to confirm their election.

This was the theology in the revivals between 1796 and 1843 in Scotland. It was a theology of personal salvation rather than a complete system. Many Christian doctrines were either assumed or ignored, i.e. the Church, Social Justice, etc. The preachers and teachers in the movements selected Biblical texts from both the Old Testament (especially the poetry books) and the New Testament. The texts generally were not examined exegetically nor used for expository messages. Instead each text became yet another basis for proclaiming the doctrine of sin, the offer of grace, and the exhortation to personal response. The theology in the revivals was neither new nor controversial. Being controversial was another serious error to be avoided while conducting a revival, according to W. H. Burns.[43] The theology of the Covenant of Grace was embraced by Presbyterianism, especially the Evangelicals, during that period. "There were differences amongst Evangelicals," noted G. D. Henderson, "but all were enthusiastic for the Covenant idea and for its expression in one or other of the scholastic systems that lasted well into the nineteenth

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[42] I. Burns, The Pastor of Kilsyth, op. cit., p. 249.

[43] Ibid., p. 242.

century and may even in some quarters still survive. . . . A covenant of Works had been made with Adam requiring obedience and promising eternal life, and this Covenant had been broken; but the Covenant of Grace had already been planned, involving the Atonement by the Son, and by this the possibility of oneness with God was on condition of faith restored to man."[44] The theology in the revivals was not all of the theology advocated by Moderates and Evangelicals in Scotland. It was a particular part. And, in general, it was acceptable.

CONCLUSION

The period from 1796 to 1843 was a time of transition in ecclesiastical history in Scotland. It was also a period of gradual change in the area of Practical Theology. Within that period, when many were holding fast to traditions while some were stirring for change, certain revivals of religion took place in the settings of specific Presbyterian parishes. These events were centered in the public worship services of the local kirk. The revival parishes held to the traditional forms of public worship, including the mode of administering the Lord's Supper. Movements for innovations did not emerge from those parishes nor from their revivals. The theology in the revivals was not new. It was a particular portion of the system of theology generally held by Moderates and Evangelicals. The fact that the leaders of the revivals were Evangelicals does not reflect a basic theological difference from Moderates but instead indicates a dissimilarity in emphasis between the two Presbyterian parties.

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[44]Henderson, op. cit., p. 73.

Each revival had its own story. For each occurred in a particular local parish. Each had its own individual period of preparation. Each experienced a time of expectation. Each had some form of prayer or fellowship meetings. While most of the leadership was from the clergy, laymen fulfilled a variety of significant positions of leadership. Each revival manifested a certain degree of emotionalism. Each had its own effects among those within the church and those outside the kirk. Each had certain temporary and certain permanent results among those who were awakened. Each revival was for a brief period with its own beginning and its own conclusion. Many of the similarities in parish life, public worship and theology that were shared among revival parishes also were shared with other parishes. Many other parishes might have had a revival, but, relatively speaking, they did not. The revivals in religion happened -- not because the revival parishes were uniquely different from other contemporary parishes nor because they had discovered and followed a detailed formula for such a movement. Their respective testimonies combine to remind the Church of the ever-present mystery of the God who acts within the affairs of human and ecclesiastical history. Therefore, inclusive in the conclusion to practical theology's research into evangelism, worship, and theology is the faith that "the wind blows where it wills; you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from, or where it is going. So with everyone who is born from the spirit."[45]

So let it be -- in the Church of all ages.

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[45]The Holy Bible, John 3:8.

APPENDIX A

"ADDRESS FROM THE PULPIT

Before Administering

THE SACRAMENT OF OUR LORD'S SUPPER."

"'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?' says the Psalmist, 'who shall dwell in his holy place?' In like manner, may we say, 'Who shall show forth, acceptably, the death of Jesus, the Son of God?' Is it the man who disbelieves, or at least professes not to believe, God's existence, or lives as if there were no God in the world? No. Nor is it the man who worshippeth the creatures of God instead of the Creator, being chiefly solicitous what he shall eat, and what he shall drink, or wherewithal he shall be clothed. It is not the man who loves and pursues the praise of men more than the praise of God; or says to the gold, Thou art my hope; and to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence. It is not the man who takes the name of God in vain, swearing by that awful name in ordinary conversation, using it in imprecations against his brethren, calling on the God of truth to attest a known falsehood, or even drawing nigh to God with his mouth when his heart is far from him: for all such persons God will not hold guiltless. They are, on the contrary, guilty of gross impiety, and unworthy to sit down at the table of Jesus, who constantly reverenced and loved his Heavenly Father, and delighted to do his will. Equally unfit to partake of this sacred feast is he who profanes the Lord's day, by thinking only his own thoughts, speaking only his own words, and seeking only his own pleasure, instead of meditating therein on the things pertaining to God's kingdom and the salvation of his own soul; and who, instead of joining in the assembly of the saints, absents himself from the house of prayer without any lawful cause.

"In like manner, all ought to consider themselves debarred and excluded from the table of Christ who are undutiful children or parents -- undutiful husbands or wives -- unfaithful servants -- cruel or unjust masters -- brothers and sisters who are wanting in kind affection -- contentious neighbours -- tyrannical rulers -- treacherous or rebellious subjects of civil government: for the gospel of Christ requires obedience to magistrates, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

"The gospel of the Son of God expressly enjoins us to do evil to no man. It is therefore my duty, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to interdict and exclude, from the feast of love, not only the man (if such were here) who has unjustly taken away the life of one of his own species, but likewise the man who hateth his brother in his heart: for he, too, saith an apostle, is a murderer, inasmuch as the sentiment of malice, which begets murder, is indulged by him. I may add,

that he would be an unworthy guest at this table, who, seeing his brother in want, shuts up his bowels of compassion from him; who envies his prosperity, rejoices in his misfortunes, or, if his neighbour is in danger, neglects to help and to save him.

"The unclean, whether adulterer or fornicator, would also be an unworthy partaker of this ordinance; and such are they who habitually indulge impure desires, or are addicted to obscene conversation; as well as they who commit licentious actions.

"Likewise, let no one approach this holy table who, by fraud or violence, deprives his neighbour of his property or lawful rights. Let no one approach it who accuses his neighbour falsely, or detracts from the praise that is due to him; or who is chargeable with deceit, or the telling of a lie. Let none approach it who are more intent on labouring for the meat that perisheth than for that meat which endureth to eternal life; or who so covet the riches of this world as to employ unlawful means to obtain them. In short, let none partake of this ordinance who are conscious to themselves of wilfully and habitually neglecting any known duty, or of wilfully and habitually persisting in any known sin: for whoever does one or other of these, let him call himself what he may, yet the gospel calls him not a disciple. Who then is the acceptable guest at Christ's table? It is he -- (and, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I cordially invite all such to partake of this holy feast) -- It is he who fears God, and is solicitous to know and to do his will; who worships him in sincerity, both in public and private; who loves him as his supreme Benefactor; who is resigned to his providence; who puts his trust in him; and seeks, above all things, his favour, in which is life, and his loving-kindness, which is better than this life.

"It is he who loves the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; whose heart is comforted by his promises; and who studies to obey his precepts, and to follow his example.

"It is the man who is not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but glories in it, as the channel through which mercy and grace flow to guilty men; who, considering himself bought with a price, even with the precious blood of Christ, makes it his daily study and endeavour to glorify him, both in his soul and his body, which are his.

"It is he, who comes to celebrate this ordinance as a testimony of his love to Christ, and of his submission to his authority as the Son of God; and who, conscious of his need, comes to ask of God wisdom to direct, and power to strengthen him in his journey to the heavenly Zion; who is desirous to honour Christ in his own generation, and to contribute his part in handing down his name with honour to generations yet unborn. Welcome, friend and disciple of Jesus, to this table! Thou hast the mind and the spirit that were in him. Thou art, indeed, far short of the pattern he hath set before thee; but, by his grace, thou wilt this day offer a tribute of reverence and gratitude which he will accept.

"Nor let me fail to invite to this table those who, though conscious that in many things they have offended, and in all things have come short of the glory of God, are penetrated with deep

repentance for their past guilt, and are now fully resolved to put off the old man, with his deeds, which are corrupt, and to put on the new man, Christ Jesus. He, who breaks not the bruised reed, will still accept of you. Take, this day, the yoke of Christ on you, for it is easy, compared with the yoke of sin; and light is his burden, compared with that which ye have been accustomed to bear.

"Let all such come to the altar of the Lord. There let them offer up the sacrifices of a devout and upright heart, -- the sacrifices, also, of a broken and contrite spirit, for such sacrifices God will not despise."[1]

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[1] James Simmie, Sermons and a Communion Service, according to the Forms of the Church of Scotland, pp. 355-360.

APPENDIX B

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

"Consecration Prayer"

"O Lord, thou hast been the God of our fathers, in whom through many generations they have trusted; -- we also put our hope and confidence in thee, for thy goodness endureth for ever. We thank thee for our existence -- thou at first formedst us out of the dust of the earth, and didst breathe into our nostrils the breath of life. We thank thee that thou hast endowed us with reason, and hast fashioned us after the image of our Creator; -- that thou hast made us capable of tasting the refined pleasures of religion and virtue, and taught us to raise our minds from the study of thy works to the contemplation of thy divine perfections. We thank thee for the inestimable gift of thine own Son, whom, in infinite mercy, thou sentest to enlighten, to instruct, to comfort, and to save us: -- We thank thee for all that he did, and taught, and suffered, while he sojourned on earth; and for his gracious promise before he returned unto thee, that he would not leave us comfortless. We thank thee that his gospel is handed down to us in these latter days, to enlighten us by its precepts and encourage us by its hopes; and that his spirit is ever with us, to nourish our languishing virtue, to give strength to our weakness, and repose to our troubled hearts. We thank thee that thou hast brought us to this scene of harmony and peace -- even to the table of our crucified Redeemer -- that with delight and gratitude we may commemorate his dying love.

"Be with us, O Lord, we humbly entreat thee, in the celebration of this ordinance. O thou who dwellest on high! bend thy heavens and come down; -- graciously accept of this tribute of our gratitude to him who died for us that we might live. May the great Master of the feast be present; may he be made known to us in the breaking of bread. May we sit down under his shadow with great delight, and find his fruit sweet unto our taste.

"Over these symbols of his death, we solemnly devote ourselves to his service -- we solemnly vow to renounce the pleasures of sin, to overcome the world with its affections, and to be the followers of Jesus, who was holy, harmless, and undefiled -- to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow him, through good report, and through bad report, unallured by the temptations of the world, unawed by its frowns.

"Assist us, O Lord, in the performance of these vows. Let not our former transgressions be brought into remembrance, for they are more than sufficient to condemn us. For the sake of him who suffered and died for us, be pleased, O God, to accept of our repentance. Aid our virtuous resolutions; -- enable us to put them in practice. May we henceforth take upon us the yoke of our Saviour which is easy, and

his burden which is light. May we henceforth learn of him who was meek and lowly in heart, that we may find rest to our souls. Henceforth may the same mind be in us which was also in him; and may we find, to our happy experience, that this has indeed been to us the house of God -- this the gate of heaven.

"Accept of us, O Lord, and of our imperfect services, for the sake of him whom thou hearest always, even Jesus Christ, our strength and our Redeemer. -- Amen."[1]

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[1]A. G. Carstairs, The Scottish Communion Service, with the Public Services for the Fast Day, Saturday, and Monday Before and After Communion, pp. 151-153.

APPENDIX C

Communion Table Service

Exhortation I. "The Redeeming Love of God"

"Christians! the love of God to sinful men, is an overwhelming subject. It has a height and a depth, a length and a breadth, which bid defiance to the computing powers of created intelligences. It exceeds description; it 'passeth knowledge.'

"Of all the numberless blessed effects of this love, the most wonderful is that which we are met this day gratefully to acknowledge, and religiously to commemorate: 'God so loved the world, that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. He spared not his Son, but delivered him up for us all.' All the other gifts of God, glorious as they are, lose all their lustre when contrasted with this gift, of value unspeakable, inconceivable.

"Who the Son of God is, no created being can fully comprehend. On his vesture and thigh is a name written, the full import of which is known only to his Father and to himself; for 'as no man knoweth the Father but the Son, so no man knoweth the Son but the Father.' To estimate his excellence exceeds our powers, -- exceeds the powers of the highest created being. Infinite intelligence can alone comprehend infinite perfection. Fix your attention, Christians, on the scriptural account of his glories, not that you may form an adequate estimate of his worth, but that you may be penetrated with the conviction that it is altogether inestimable.

"His goings forth have been of old from everlasting. He was 'in the beginning.' Before the expanse of the heaven was stretched forth, or the sun had learned to know his place, -- ere there was a day to rule, or a world to enlighten, -- the Son of God existed, enfolded in the bosom of his Father, the partner of his honours, the equal sharer of his felicities. He is the 'brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person.' By the exertion of his mighty power were the materials of all worlds called into existence; by his matchless skill they were arranged into that harmonious and beautiful system which we now behold; and by the continued exercise of the same infinite perfections are they upheld in being, and made to answer the purposes for which they were formed: 'By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things subsist.' It was he who inspired with wisdom the angelic hosts, and communicated understanding to the human soul. All the angels of God worship him, and heaven and earth are full of his glory.

"The Son of God is not more glorious in himself, than he is dear to his Father: 'The Father loveth the Son.' Christ Jesus receives that appellation in a sense peculiar to himself. He is God's only-begotten and well-beloved Son. All that is implied in these appellations cannot be comprehended by mortals, but most assuredly they convey the ideas of intimate relation, and boundless complacency. God regards his saints and angels with compassion and kindness; but he loves his Son as he loves himself. He knows all the innumerable excellences of his nature, in all their infinite extent; and up to the full measure of his knowledge, if the expression may be admitted, does He love him.

"Who could have expected, that a person so glorious in himself, and so dear to God, should ever have been exposed to inconvenience or to sorrow? Surely it would have been natural to have expected, that the whole universe of creatures should have been allowed to sink in endless perdition, rather than the tranquillity of the Son of God should have been for a moment ruffled, or his happiness in the slightest degree impaired? Yet this glorious personage was not spared, when the salvation of a lost world required the sacrifice. When his interposition became necessary it was not withheld, and when he did interpose he was not spared. He was neither excused from suffering, nor spared when he suffered. He was delivered up; but to whom -- to what? To enemies most formidable and numerous -- to agonies most intense and deadly. The more we think of the sufferings of the Son of God, the more we are confounded and astonished. It is an object too big for comprehension -- too awful for steady contemplation. He was delivered up to debasement and poverty, to pain and death, -- to the power of devils -- to the wrath of God.

"And for whom was all this degradation submitted to, and all this suffering endured? Was it for creatures, unhappy indeed, yet worthy and innocent? No; it was for rebels against the Divine authority -- violators of the Divine law -- haters of the Divine purity; -- Christians, it was for you. 'Christ died for us;' he was 'delivered up for us all.'

"What can you render to the Lord for this, the greatest of his benefits? Take the cup of salvation, and call on the name of the Lord.

"'In that night in which our Lord was betrayed he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave it to the disciples, saying, Take, eat: This is my body which is broken for you. This do in remembrance of me. In like manner also after supper he took the cup, and when he had blessed, he gave it to the disciples, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, shed for remission of sins unto many: Drink ye all of it. And as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death until he come.'

"Communicants! 'The lines have fallen to you in pleasant places; yea, ye have a goodly heritage.' God has so loved you, as to

give you his Son; and, in giving him to you, He has in effect given you all you need for time and for eternity. There is no resisting the apostle's conclusion: 'He who spared not his Son, but delivered him up for us all, how will He not with him also freely give you all things?' Yes, Christians, 'all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, all is yours, ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' Whatever is really good for you, of a temporal kind, shall not be withheld. If it is necessary to your happiness, nay, if it is really conducive to it, you shall be rich, and honourable, and great. Infinite wisdom knows, however, that, in ordinary cases, riches and honour, and grandeur, instead of being a blessing to the people of God, would be a curse -- would entangle them in snares, and seduce them into sin, and therefore has generally assigned them but a moderate portion, sometimes but a scanty one, of worldly goods. Yet the poorest of you enjoy the benefits conferred on you by a securer tenure than the richest and mightiest of the sons of the world: Ye 'inherit the earth.' What you have is yours by the charter of the new covenant, is the pledge of your Father's love, and the earnest of a better inheritance. Fear not want; for the all-sufficient God assures you that you shall not want any good thing: 'What is good God will give: He will give grace and glory.'

"The best part of your inheritance, however, is that which is spiritual in its nature, and eternal in its duration. Whatever is necessary to remove the guilt, to purify the pollution, and to subdue the power of sin -- to fill the mind with all necessary knowledge, and adorn the heart with all holy dispositions -- to stimulate indolence, to assist weakness, to protect in danger, to comfort in sorrow, will certainly be conferred on you. Comfort in life, safety in death, happiness for ever, are all included in your inheritance.

"Do unbelieving fears rise in your minds, lest those delightful anticipations should never be realised? Look through these elements at the crucified Son of God, and be ashamed of your suspicions. God has given you his Son, and what will He refuse you? The gift of Jesus is incomparably more valuable than any other, than the aggregate of all his other gifts; and He who has given you the greater will not refuse the less. The bestowal of all that is requisite for your happiness, is necessarily connected with the gift of Christ. He was given for you, that these benefits may be given to you. Were these refused, the unspeakable gift of God would have been bestowed in vain. In truth, Christ and his benefits cannot be separated. He who has the one must have the other. He who has Christ, has of course 'wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.' Ye are happy indeed, Christians, would you but believe your happiness, for ye may enjoy Christ in all things, and all things in Christ. When God gave his Son for you, ye were enemies; now, through the reconciling efficacy of his atonement, ye are friends. Most conclusively does the apostle argue on this subject, 'God commendeth his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more, being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved through his life.' The gift of Christ Jesus, is a proof (what can be a stronger one?) of the love of God to those for

whom he was given; and 'whom He loves, He loves to the end.' He resteth in his love: 'He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

"'How great is his goodness! and how great is his beauty!' Let it ever be present to your minds, as the ground of your hope, the source of your joy, and the motive of your obedience: 'O love the Lord, all ye his saints!' And, in proof of your love, reverence his authority, and obey his laws. 'Delivered out of the hands of your enemies, by the tender mercy of your God, see that ye serve Him without fear, in righteousness and holiness all the days of your life.' -- Go in peace."[1]

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[1]John Brown, Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper, pp. 199-203.

APPENDIX D

"Exhortations to the Communicants at the Conclusion of the Solemn Action"

Exhortation I.

"Christian Brethren! The sacramental table is now drawn, and I trust that many of you can say from happy experience, truly our fellowship has been with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. We have sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to our taste.

"Permit me now to remind you, that the great design of this ordinance is, to strengthen the principles of piety in your hearts, and to promote the practice of holiness and universal righteousness in your lives. If this end be not in some measure attained, we lose the chief benefit of this institution. For the bread of life is given us to strengthen us for our work. The design of this appointment is to shew forth the Lord's death; and the reason why he ordered his death to be so often commemorated is, to strengthen our faith, and fix us in the belief of his meritorious sufferings, and of the accomplishment of the promises which are made in the gospel; and that such a faith might bring us more and more in love with him. And the natural fruit of an increased affection for Christ is, a more ardent desire to be like him, a concern for his interest, and diligent endeavours to abound in his service. Every faithful communicant will make conscience of walking humbly, watchfully and circumspectly. And remember, brethren, that loose, careless, disorderly communicants are not worthy of the name or privileges of such. They are a disgrace to the society to which they belong. They dishonour their profession, and ought to be despised and avoided. Those that honour God, he will honour; but those that despise him, he will allow us to esteem lightly.

"If your conversation be suitable to this great solemnity in which you engage, if you come hither for spiritual strength and improvement, and then go out into the world, and bring forth much fruit, and appear, and really are more serious, more devout, more fearful of sin, more conscientious in the discharge of your duty than others are, you will deserve respect, and it is likely you will have it. For those who have no principle of real piety in their own hearts, yet usually shew some regard to holiness in others. But on the contrary, if any of us should go from this table, and walk as others walk, and be as vain and unguarded as those who make no more than ordinary pretensions to religion, so far from commanding respect, we shall be despised both by God and man. Such a criminal behaviour on our part, will also harden the wicked and profane, and grieve the hearts of the righteous. Remember, it is not the name of a communicant that is honourable, but the sanctified frame of mind, which is suitable to

this holy ordinance, and a conversation becoming the gospel. The best way of trying whether you profit by the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, is to consider whether it has any purifying influence on your heart and life. This is the best effect the sacrament can have upon us, what will administer to us the best-grounded comfort, and is the best preparation for the ordinance upon its return. Consider and examine well, whether your sacramental engagements are a restraint upon you in the season of temptation, and a spur to diligence in your spiritual work. Consider whether they render you more like to God, and quicken you to renewed care to imitate the virtues of the great author and finisher of our faith, Christ Jesus. Consider whether they improve your heart, confirm and strengthen your habits of grace, and make you more strictly conscientious, more afraid of sin, less fond of the applause of the world, more indifferent as to the reflexions that may be cast upon you for unnecessary strictness and singularity, more useful among your acquaintance, more desirous of doing good, and more inquisitive after occasions of that kind.

"This is the method you must take to know whether you gain by your attendance on the Lord's Table, whether the chief end of it be answered in you. Are you the holier for it? Doth it help you to do more than others? to exceed yourselves? This is a <u>real</u> benefit. Some look for raptures of joy, while they are at the table of the Lord, or some violent agitation of mind while they behold the representation of our Saviour's sufferings; and are apt to imagine, that if they feel no such vehement emotion of spirit, but are calm and sedate, they are not in a good frame, and gain little by the ordinance: whereas it is possible you may gain least, when the natural passions are most moved. The representation of Christ's death, when it strikes the imagination in a lively manner, has a mighty tendency powerfully to affect the mind. There were so many moving circumstances with which that great event was attended, such as the terribleness of the suffering, the innocence and goodness, the dignity and condescension of the sufferer, the horrible wickedness of his pretended friend who betrayed, and of the Jews who crucified him; the darkness which covered the whole land, the trembling of the earth, the rending of the rocks, and the like, that it is almost impossible these things should be called to your remembrance without your being affected; so that possibly, some times, you may mistake the workings of the natural affections for the exercise of devout and gracious ones. And if the natural affections <u>only</u> are moved, then all that you can reasonably conclude from such a kind of emotion at the Lord's Supper is, that you are <u>men</u>, and not stocks or stones, or brutes; that you have not lost the passions that belong to mankind.

"But then, when you try your profiting by this ordinance, by the evidence I just now mentioned, -- its reformation of your heart and conversation, -- you are not in much danger of being mistaken. The christian that is assisted by this ordinance to see the great evil of sin, and the love of Jesus in delivering from it, and to perceive the many forcible motives and engagements to all holiness of conversation that are here set before him, so as to be more in love with his duty, to have his pious resolutions more established, the tenderness of his conscience more encreased, and to be brought more under the influence of the doctrines and precepts of the gospel in all his actions; this is he who may be said to receive most worthily, and to grow in grace,

whether he has or has not the happiness of warm and melting affections. I fervently pray, that each of you, my fellow communicants, may have this comfortable and satisfactory evidence, that you have not attended his table in vain.

"And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified. AMEN."[1]

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[1]Harry Robertson, The Scotch Minister's Assistant, pp. 153-159.

APPENDIX E

From W. C. Burns' Journal

"Breadalbane, Ardeonaig, Sabbath, August 23rd.-- . . . There was an immense assembly, collected from a circuit of from twelve to twenty miles, which could not amount to less than three thousand. Mr. M'Kenzie began in Gaelic at eleven. I succeeded him in English at one, preaching from Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. I felt a great uplifting of the heart in pride before God, and though I was enabled so far to get over this as to be able to speak boldly and strongly upon the 'evil ways' of men from which they are called to turn, yet I could make nothing of the display of Jehovah's love which is made in the words, 'As I live, I have no pleasure,' etc.; and though I stopped and prayed with the people for assistance, yet I had to conclude abruptly, having nothing to say but what would profane and degrade in the eyes of the hearers these marvellous words. I came into the house at four o'clock, much cast down on account of the reigning vanity and pride, and self-seeking of my desperately wicked heart, and was driven to my knees, when I found the Lord very gracious, and had a sweet anticipation given me of the Lord's presence in the evening, when we were to meet in the church. Accordingly we met at six o'clock. I did not discourse on any set subject, but was led to speak upon the Psalm which we were to sing (Psalm cii. 11-14), and in this I felt so much enlarged, that both people and preacher were tenderly moved with a view of Emmanuel's love. After we had prayed I made a few additional remarks of a miscellaneous kind, which seemed also to come home to the heart. When we were separating, some individuals began to cry aloud. I tried to quiet them, as I am always afraid that they are in danger of drawing the attention of many who are less affected away from considering the state of their own souls. However, they could not be composed, and when I went up to the gallery, where the most of them were, I found to my joy that they were persons from Fortingall, who had I suppose been impressed on Friday. We took them along with a number of other persons in the same state into the manse, and after prayer sent them away, though not in the best state for going to so great a distance. Praise! I saw a number of men in the church much affected, but they did not come so prominently forward, being better able to restrain their feelings. . . .

"Moulin, Tuesday September 8th.-- This morning I rode with Mr. C. to Straloch, in this parish, through Glen Brirachan, and then preached to about five hundred in the open air at twelve o'clock. I was under a heavy load of conscience all the way to the place of meeting. I got a little relief during the time that Mr. Drummond of Kirkmichael, who had come to meet us, prayed in an adjoining house before I began; but still I was in such bondange of spirit that I could hardly speak to the people, feeling as if they were seeing the infidelity and hypocrisy of my heart from my countenance, and so being unable to look them directly in the face. My text was Isaiah xxxii. 2,

first clause, in which I considered, 1st. Why we needed a covert, etc. 2d. What was meant by the wind and tempest. 3d. Who the 'man' spoken of is. 4th. How he becomes a hiding-place. After some introductory remarks on the text I prayed, and then got considerable liberty in speaking of the evil of sin, and its deserving the wind and tempest of divine wrath. However, when I proceeded to the second head, this assistance was withdrawn, and I was so dark and dead that I had to draw quickly to a close. I prayed, and gave out a concluding psalm, during which Mr. Campbell came and pressed me to say a few words more, as there were people there who in all likelihood would not be got at again. This affected me, yet I could get no greater liberty to speak, and told him that I could not speak at that time for the whole world. I intimated when I had pronounced the blessing, that I desired to speak further to them, and that I was persuaded there must be some cause, either in me or in some of them, for the withdrawal of the Spirit of God; but that though I had no message for them at that time, I would rejoice to remain with any who were really desiring a blessing to their souls, and join in crying to the Lord for his help. No one went away. We joined in prayer, the people with far greater solemnity, and I with some degree of liberty; and after I had ended I felt so carried above the power of my enemies, that I began at once upon the topics I had left; and throwing down the gauntlet to the enemies of Jesus, I spoke for a long time with such assistance that I felt as if I could have shaken the globe to pieces through the views I got of the glory of the divine person of Christ, and of his atoning sacrifice to rescue sinners from eternal death. The people were bent down beneath the word like corn under the breeze, and many a stout sinner wept bitterly. We separated about four o'clock, and I felt myself called, in consequence of what I had seen and felt, to agree to Mr. Drummond's request that I should go to Kirkmichael on Sabbath week instead of to Grandtully as I had intended. Glory to the Lord! We had some of the gentry there in tears! . . ."[1]

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[1]I. Burns, Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M.A., pp. 201, 202, 206, 207.

APPENDIX F

Resolution Regarding Revivals of Religion,

Presbytery of Aberdeen,

11th May 1841

"The Presbytery, having taken into their solemn consideration the Evidence on Revivals of Religion, received by their Committee on that subject, Resolved,

I. That a Revival of Religion, consisting in the general quickening of believers, and the conversion of multitudes of unbelievers, by the Holy Spirit, cannot but be an object of most earnest desire to every follower of the Lord; that the genuineness of such a Revival is chiefly to be tested by the nature and permanence of the effects by which it is followed; that it can only be expected to flow from the use of the appointed means, accompanied with the abundant outpouring of the Spirit of God; that it should be made the subject of fervent and persevering prayer; and that, when such a Revival takes place, it should not be dreaded or spoken of with levity, but should be carefully and seriously marked, and acknowledged with devout thanksgiving.

II. That the Evidence, derived from answers to certain Queries sent by the Committee to Ministers and others in different parts of the country, amply bears out the fact that an extensive and delightful work of Revival has commenced, and is in hopeful progress in various districts of Scotland -- the origin of which, instrumentally, is to be traced to a more widely diffused spirit of prayer on the part of ministers and people, and to the simple, earnest, and affectionate preaching of the gospel of the grace of God; that this work in the districts referred to, many of which are locally far distant from others, has been attended with few of those evils which have generally more or less characterised seasons of great religious excitement; and that, on the whole, an amount of good has been accomplished, which loudly calls for gratitude and praise to Him 'who turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of water.'

III. That, in the case of Aberdeen, to which the evidence more especially refers, it clearly appears, so far as the test of time can be applied to the subject, that a very considerable number of persons, chiefly in early life, have been strongly, and, it is hoped, savingly, impressed with the importance of eternal things, and are in the course of farther instruction; that many of all ages have been awakened to a more serious concern about Christ and salvation than they formerly felt, and have been quickened to activity in well-doing; and that the labours of Mr.

W. C. Burns, Preacher of the [illegible]
in connexion with these results. [illegible]
Presbytery cannot but regret that such an[illegible]
should have been made to two particular meet[illegible]
Burns presided, where the services were protrac[illegible]
hour, and where much outward excitement prevailed [illegible]
stances obviously liable to much inconvenience as well a[illegible]
misconception -- while it appears from the evidence that m[illegible]
other meetings were held for religious instruction, through t[illegible]
same instrumentality, which could be liable to no such miscon-
ception, and where much good was wrought. And, upon the whole,
the Presbytery are convinced that, if it had entered more into
the nature of the inquiry to ascertain simply the extent of the
awakening that has been effected in this city and neighbourhood,
the evidence of a favourable kind would have been such as to lead
to increased thanksgiving.

IV. That the Presbytery, having considered the whole evidence that has been laid before them on this unspeakably important subject, feel themselves called upon to recommend to all the Ministers, Preachers, and Elders within their bounds, in their respective spheres, to labour more and more diligently and prayerfully, in the use of all scriptural means, to promote the cause of vital religion which needs so much to be revived among us; and they would also exhort and entreat all the private members of the Church to study to grow in grace, to abound in all the fruits of righteousness, and to plead more earnestly with the great Head of the Church that He would pour out of his Spirit more plentifully upon us, and bless his appointed ordinances, that the wilderness may become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest.

Extracted from the Records of the Presbytery of

Aberdeen by

WILLIAM PAUL, P.C."[1]

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[1] Records of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, pp. 244-246.

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EVANGELISM, WORSHIP, AND THEOLOGY:
A STUDY OF CERTAIN REVIVALS IN SCOTTISH PARISHES
BETWEEN 1796 AND 1843,
AND THEIR RELATION TO PUBLIC WORSHIP

THE ABSTRACT

In Scottish Presbyterianism the period from 1796 to 1843 was a transitional era of Evangelical ascendancy over Moderatism. Within that period, certain parishes had brief periods of evangelistic activities called "revivals." These movements were centered in services of public worship. The purpose of this thesis is to examine public worship during the era as a means of evangelism and to discern the processes by which the revivals took place.

Public worship in Scotland during the eighteenth century has been commonly characterised as very ineffective, even barren. In both Moderate and Evangelical kirks, public worship was a preaching service with certain acts of devotion, but without a liturgy. From 1796 to 1843, public worship generally followed the traditions of the past, including the annual sacramental season. Although there were some stirrings toward a future renascence of worship, in such areas as published aids-to-worship, instrumental music, the singing of paraphrases and hymns, and more frequent Communion services, public worship continued to be a preaching service. Yet, in a few parishes, a season of revival did take place primarily within traditional, "weak" worship.

The most unusual revival during the period of this study was the preaching tours by lay-preachers. Originated by J. A. Haldane, John Aikman, and Joseph Rate, this movement began as a plan for

establishing religious schools in Highland parishes, and became an evangelistic organization called "The Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home." This organization not only was instrumental in brief awakenings in some parishes but also fostered certain discord in the state of religion in Scotland which resulted in official acts in Presbyterianism against lay-preaching. The S.P.G.H. ended in dissension from within in 1808. Even so, the evangelistic work of the S.P.G.H. did provide some notable revivals and a portion of the background for the revivals at Arran and Skye.

Other revivals during the early nineteenth century were in parishes in the following places: Moulin (1796-1802), Arran (1812-13), Skye (1812-14), and Kilsyth (1839). The Kilsyth revival was the origin of a movement that spread to many other parishes in Scotland through 1841. Revival leaders were local parish ministers, with the exception of the Kilsyth movement which was led by a licentiate preacher, W. C. Burns, along with various local ministers. The revivals were centered in public worship services and prayer meetings. Sacramental seasons had no uniform place in each movement. Extemporaneous preaching within the general context of the traditional order of worship was the chief agent of awakenings. Generally, each brief season of revival also included a period of preparation characterised by expectation, a noticeable element of emotionalism, and results that were observable among certain individual lives more than those effecting parish life. The theology in the revivals was a portion of the Calvinism of the time which was directed at personal salvation. Conviction of total depravity, the covenant of grace which had conditional overtones, and limited atonement were the central doctrines of the theology in the revivals.

The many detailed events in each revival parish gave each story an individuality apart from the other seasons of revival. And similarities noted among the various revivals did not uniquely distinguish them from many other contemporary parishes. Thus, in addition to that which can be discerned from the revivals of religion and their relation to public worship, the Church is reminded of her dependence upon the mysteries of God.

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